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MANUAL OF ARGUMENTATION

LAYCOCK AND SPOFFORD

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MANUAL OF ARGUMENTATION

The MMC Co.

UNIV. OF
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MANUAL

OF

ARGUMENTATION

FOR HIGH SCHOOLS AND ACADEMIES

BY

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PREFACE

THE increasing interest taken in debate by the larger high schools and academies has prompted the preparation of this Manual of Argumentation. There has seemed to be need of a book that would present in a clear and simple way the elements of debate to that large class of students who are not advanced enough to master the rather difficult college text-books on the subject, but who are deeply interested in debating because it appeals to those instincts which are the basis of oratory and as old as the race.

The authors, desiring to know if other teachers felt a similar need, sent letters to the masters of many of the larger high schools and academies throughout the country, asking their opinion as to the usefulness of such a book. To these letters over eighty per cent of the replies were favorable. The book was imme-

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diately undertaken, and during its preparation was presented to a class of high-school students who were beginning a term's study of the subject. The results were entirely satisfactory, and after such revision as experience suggested, the lessons were put in the form in which they here appear. We trust they may prove helpful in meeting the need for which they were written.

The authors desire to acknowledge their indebtedness to Miss Helen E. Harding, of Somerville (Mass.) English High School, for the brief on Burke's "Speech on Conciliation," furnished practically in its present form.

HANOVER, N. H.,
December 19, 1905.

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PART I

PREPARATION

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MANUAL OF ARGUMENTATION

LESSON I

NATURE OF ARGUMENTATION

In beginning the study of Argumentation, the student is on somewhat familiar ground. From studies in the forms of discourse and other composition work he has learned something of the argumentative form of writing, but now he is to study in a definite and formal way a subject which he has hitherto learned only in a general and incidental manner. More than this, he is not taking up a subject entirely isolated from other forms of writing, but one very much dependent on them. Argumentation has need of such frequent use of Narration, Description, and Exposition, that former studies in these subjects cannot fail to furnish an exceedingly useful and very necessary preparation for his new work.

In Narration we tell a story. In Description we present a picture by means of language. In Exposition we clearly explain an idea. In Argumentation we try to prove that something is true or false. Now it is plain that if we wanted to prove that a certain thing happened at a certain time, if we were able to tell very clearly the story of the event and all things connected with it, it would greatly help us in our attempt. For instance, if we had been eye-witnesses of a street accident and were seeking to show that it was the result of negligence on the part of one of the parties concerned, it would be of the highest importance that we be able clearly to tell the story of the occurrence, and to relate exactly and in order the different points. Or, if we wanted to prove some alleged fact as to the position or location of a certain object, if we could describe very vividly the whole situation, our statement of the matter doubtless would be more readily accepted. For instance, if we were seeking a purchaser for a definite piece of land, which is valuable because of its slope or its surroundings, we should be much more likely to succeed

if we could picture clearly the piece of land and the surrounding property. Or, if we desired to persuade a man to purchase a coaster brake for his bicycle, we should be much more likely to make the sale if we could clearly explain the mechanical contrivance that makes it possible for him to coast without removing his feet from the pedals, and to put on the brake by simply reversing the pressure of his feet on the pedals. So we see that all the other forms of discourse help us in the study of Argumentation.

But of these three forms of discourse, Exposition is the most important preparation for the study of Argumentation. Exposition is explanation for the sake of clearness. We often disagree because we do not understand each other, but when the points on which we disagree are clearly explained we are of one mind. Sometimes we do not believe in certain ideas because we do not understand them. The place, therefore, of Exposition in Argumentation is to explain ideas, so that we may know upon what points we agree and what we believe.

Argumentation differs from the other three

forms of discourse in that it tries to reach a conclusion: it tries to show that something is true or not true. The arguer aims to make his thought convincing, and to bring his hearer or reader over to his own state of mind. Briefly defined, Argumentation is the art of inducing people to believe as we do. In argument we have a principle to establish, and we give our reasons for believing in the principle.

In order to have an argument as to whether something is true or false there must be *a difference of opinion.* We cannot argue a question on which every one agrees. If there is to be a discussion, some must believe on one side and some on the other. For example, if every one believes that "The city should provide free text-books for high school students," the question would not be debatable; but if, on the other hand, some believe that the city should *not* furnish free text-books for high school students, the question becomes a subject for debate. In Argumentation a clash of opinion is absolutely necessary.

Not only is this clash of opinion necessary,

but it should be stated in writing. Very often two students while talking together find that a point has arisen on which they take sides. One says, "I think it is so for this reason," and he states his reason. The other says, "Yes, but you have not taken into account this fact," and he states the fact which makes him believe differently. Now these two students are debating in just as true a sense as they ever will debate from manuscript or notes, because they have a subject on which they disagree and each one is bringing forth reasons to prove his side.

But while this is debating in the true sense, there is great danger of misunderstanding the exact point they are discussing, since the subject about which they disagree is not written down, and they are liable to have two different ideas in mind. To avoid all possibility of confusion, and that a student may know precisely what the idea is in which he believes or disbelieves, this idea should be *clearly stated on paper*. The idea thus stated is called the question, and "there are two sides to every question."

QUESTIONS ON LESSON I

1. What is the relation between the other forms of discourse and Argumentation?
2. For the purpose of Argumentation which one of these three forms is most important?
3. How does Argumentation differ from the other three forms of discourse?
4. What is Argumentation?
5. In order to have an argument, what conditions are necessary?
6. How should this difference of opinion be stated? Why?
7. What is this written statement called?

LESSON II

THE QUESTION

We have already seen the necessity of stating in written words the idea concerning which our beliefs differ. If a question is necessary, the next thing that we must know is, how to formulate it.

How the Question should be Formed

I. *The question should be in the form of a complete statement.*

A question is not an interrogatory, and the student should carefully distinguish between the use of this word "question" in Argumentation and its ordinary, everyday use. A question for debate should not have an interrogation point after it. It should be in the form of a declarative sentence, stating that something is or is not so, should or should not be, will or will not be, has or has not been. The reason

for saying that the question should be a statement and not an interrogatory is, that when an interrogatory form is used no opinion is put forward which its author is bound to defend, but when an assertion is made that a thing is so or is not so, the author has given his belief which he is bound to support. "He who asserts must prove" is a text that the debater may well bear in mind; and to assert is not to inquire. For example, the question, "There should be no final examination in this class," is a good question, because it is in the form of a complete statement. The interrogatory, "Is it wrong to bet?" is not a good question, because it is in the form of an inquiry, but if it were in the form of a complete statement, as, "It is wrong to bet," it would be a good question for debate.

II. *The question generally should have only one subject and only one predicate, but it may contain a restrictive or modifying phrase or clause.*

The necessity of this rule will be evident by first taking a question that has one subject, and next, one that has two subjects. In the

question, "Coffee should be served to pupils in our lunch room," we have a single subject, "coffee," and it would be a simple matter to debate whether coffee should or should not be served in "our lunch room." During the discussion we have just one thing in mind and there is no danger of losing our direction. We aim at one point and we go straight toward it. But suppose the question read, "Coffee and confectionery should be served to pupils in our lunch room." In this question we should have two subjects, "coffee" and "confectionery." Now, perhaps, many would argue that coffee should be served in our lunch room who would not go so far as to say that confectionery also should be served; we should, therefore, have one set of reasons to show that coffee should be served, and another set to show that confectionery should be served. Hence, we have in one question, two different questions, and this is very likely to lead to confusion. It is like shooting at two birds at the same time and not getting either.

The same difficulties arise in taking a question with a plural predicate. For example, in

the question, "The government should own and control the railroads," we have a double predicate, "should own and control." Now, there are two distinct questions involved in this double predicate. To own the railroads is one thing; to control them is another. It might be a feasible and desirable thing for the government to control, that is, to regulate, manage, and exercise a general oversight over the railroads, to prevent unlawful rate-cutting and discriminations of all kinds; but it is an entirely different question to say that the government should purchase the immense railroad systems of our country, and hold them in exclusive right of possession. A question with a plural predicate, just as a question with a plural subject, compels us to use two different sets of reasons for proving each predicate, and may therefore lead to confusion. To have a plural predicate in a question is to diminish the possibilities of clear and pointed argument. It is generally better if a student wishes to debate two or more ideas of this kind, to shape each idea in the form of a question and debate them at two different times. For example, he may

debate the question, "The government should own the railroads," at one time, and debate the question, "The government should control the railroads," at another time.

A question may contain a modifying clause or phrase. For example, in the question, "There should be no final examination in this class," we could easily add the modifying or restrictive clause, "for those whose daily rank is above 90 per cent," and our meaning would be perfectly clear. Or in the question, "A national board of arbitration should be established to settle labor disputes," we could easily insert the phrase, "with compulsory powers," so that the question would read, "A national board of arbitration *with compulsory powers*, should be established to settle labor disputes." Such modifying clauses or phrases are often very helpful in giving a question proper limits in a debate, and, if carefully used, make a question clearer and remove possibilities of confusion when the question is being defined before beginning the discussion.

Having learned how a question should be stated in order to be clear and in proper form,

we next wish to learn how to understand the exact meaning of the question before we begin the discussion.

Definition of Terms

Each word and phrase whose exact meaning is not apparent should be carefully and accurately defined.

The importance of definition cannot be overestimated. The great mistake of young debaters is that they do not know exactly what they are debating, before they begin to argue. They get a general impression and then rush into the fray. They neglect the fine points of definition on which the discussion often turns. They forget the maxim, "Look before you leap," and often find that they have jumped into a quagmire of indefinite and confusing details, from which it is hard to extricate themselves. The failure to gain the *direction* that comes from careful definition is like that which results when a boy tries to walk in a straight line across a snow-covered field, without first fixing his eye upon a certain point and with unrelenting vision advancing straight toward that point.

The definition of terms is no easy task, and great care should be exercised to make each definition clear, fair, accurate, and convincing. If the words and phrases of a question are not carefully defined, one side may think the question means one thing and the other side may think it means another, and as each side persists in its own interpretation, the result is that they discuss two different questions and fail entirely in their attempt to meet. They are like two dogs fighting over the shadow of a bone, who at last discover that the real bone still hangs by a string above them and is untouched.

A. The first thing to remember in definition is to be *careful.* Careful definition requires of the student —

First, that he look at the wording of the question as a whole, to note the grammatical relation of the words. If modifying words, phrases, or clauses are used, he notes just what they modify, and whether they are in the subject or the predicate of the question.

Second, that he weigh each word in a question, lest an important one escape his notice.

Very often a word that at first seems of little significance, is found, upon careful thought, to be of vital importance.

These two things enable him to get a general import of the question.

B. The second thing to remember in definition is to be *accurate*. Accuracy in definition requires of the student —

First, an intelligent use of the dictionary. The beginner will find that a searching use of some standard unabridged dictionary will generally give him the information necessary for making a clear and accurate definition of the terms used in questions which he is likely to debate. For example, in the question, "All graduates of high schools should go to college," we have a word that requires accurate definition. Before we can intelligently discuss the question, we must determine just what is the force of the word "should." As the question now reads, some may think it means that it would be for the best interests of all concerned, if all high school graduates should go to college; others may think that it means that all graduates of high schools are under moral

obligations to go to college. On the final interpretation of this word "should" hangs the whole discussion. To avoid all possibility of misunderstanding, the student should turn to the dictionary, and, selecting the definition of the word proper for this case, state it clearly and accurately, and then *insist* upon that interpretation throughout the debate.

Second, not always is the right definition of a word or phrase to be found in the dictionary. If the dictionary does not help him, the student must then turn to some other authority to learn how the term has been used by good writers. He looks up every instance he can find where the term he wishes to define has been used by reputable writers, and, quoting these instances, shows his right to use the term in the same sense.

Third, sometimes words occur in a question that permit a double interpretation. If such a term occur, he who defines the question must choose one interpretation and *stick to it.* To make his interpretation clear, he may have to use illustrations and cite examples, and he may even have to argue for his interpretation of the

word by showing the absurdity of any other interpretation and the reasonableness of his own. Generally words that permit a double interpretation should be left out of the question if other words whose meaning is precise can be used without changing the nature of the question; but when they do occur, the student should use every means to make his interpretation clear and convincing, and then stick to it unrelentingly to the very end. To waver is to lose the battle.

Fourth, sometimes the definition has to be created. Very often the question contains words that require the student to create his own definitions. For example, in the question, "Grant was a greater general than Lee," it is clear that the term requiring definition is "greater general." The word "great" might be applied to many things. We speak of great deeds, great periods of time, great arguments, but a great general is different from any of these. What we must know is what we mean by a great general. We cannot find this term defined in a dictionary, but by examining our own minds we can find out just what we mean

when we use this term. We ask ourselves what should be the qualifications of an ideal great general, and we say that he should have great military knowledge, executive ability, foresight, perseverance, humanity. Now if we agree that these should be the qualifications of a great general, and if these terms are clearly understood by all, it is evident that the question means that Grant excelled Lee in all these qualities. When the meaning of the question has been carefully explained we are ready for the discussion.

After the student has determined precisely what each word and phrase in the question for discussion means, he should recast the question in the light of his definition.

Explanation of the Whole Question

I. *The meaning of the question as a whole should be carefully explained.* For example, take the question, "All high school graduates should go to college." Having determined by careful definition what the word "should" means, the arguer can recast the question somewhat as follows: "Let the question, there-

fore, in the light of these definitions, be clearly understood throughout the discussion. The question means that it would be for the best interests of all concerned, if all high school graduates should go to college." Such a recasting of the question often presents it more clearly and with new force to an audience.

II. After the question has been recast it may not be altogether *clear.* If it is not, further explanation is necessary. This explanation may perhaps be made more clear by repeating the definition in different words. For example, take the question, "The boy who plays on the football team is not necessarily loyal to his school." Having defined the word "loyal," which is the one word in this question requiring definition, we proceed at once to explain the term, that it may be more clear, and we say: "A boy may work his very hardest while in the game to win the victory, he may be a strong player, stronger, in fact, for his position than any other boy in school, and yet, by his conduct outside of the game and his unstudious habits, really be disloyal to the best interests of his school. Indeed, we can easily

conceive a boy who, although a good athlete, so conducts himself abroad as to give his school a bad reputation, and so neglects his studies in school as to be a stumbling-block and disgrace to the school that is so unfortunate as to reckon him as one of its members." This method of skilfully repeating the main idea in two or three sentences, each time enlarging it, is very effective in making the meaning more clear to an audience.

III. Perhaps the explanation may be made more clear *by illustration.* For example, suppose John is the tackle on the football team, and by common consent is adjudged to be the best player on the team; but, suppose that when he goes away with the team to play another school team he is loud-mouthed and intemperate; suppose, also, that he never gets his geometry or Latin or chemistry lesson, and sulks away his time in school; could we say that John is loyal to his school?

IV. Perhaps the explanation may be made clearer *by telling what a thing is not.* For example, Burke, in his Speech on the Conciliation with the Colonies, uses this method when

he speaks of his peace proposal. Stating his proposition in the form of a "question," it would read, "A policy of peace will reconcile the colonies to the mother country." To make clear what he means by a policy of peace, he uses the method of telling what he does not mean. He says: "Not peace through the medium of war; not peace to be hunted through the labyrinth of intricate and endless negotiations; not peace to arise out of universal discord fomented from principle, in all parts of the empire; not peace to depend upon the judicial determination of perplexing questions, or the precise marking of the shadowy boundaries of a complex government." Then he goes on, and by using the method of "Repetition," already explained, says: "It is simple peace sought in its natural course and in its ordinary haunts. It is peace sought in the spirit of peace and laid in principles purely pacific. I propose, by removing the ground of the difference and by restoring the former unsuspecting confidence of the colonies in the mother country, to give permanent satisfaction to your people; and (far from a scheme

of ruling by discord) to reconcile them to each other in the same act and by the same bond of the same interest which reconciles them to British government."

V. Sometimes the explanation may be made more clear *by showing the relation of different words in the question to each other and to the whole question* (this is more particularly true in questions which have restrictive clauses or phrases). For example, "Arbitration boards, with compulsory powers, should be established to settle labor disputes." In explaining this question the position of the phrase "with compulsory powers" must be carefully noted. The words it modifies—"arbitration boards"—must be clearly enforced, and the other side must be carefully warned against using it in connection with the infinitive "to settle," which it does not modify. As the question now reads the compulsory powers are simple characteristics of the board, and may be many or few, and may not be exercised at all in forcing parties to settle. That is, they may be used merely to compel witnesses to testify, to insure the production of documents, and to compel local

officers to notify the board of a strike, and so forth. Whereas, if the phrase "with compulsory powers" modified the infinitive "to settle," the question would mean that the board should have vested in it powers to compel the parties at issue to accept the award of the board, and then abide by it.

The proper interpretation of a phrase like the one just given very often changes the whole tenor of a debate.

The whole purpose of this lesson is to make clear just what the meaning of the question is, the precise limits of the discussion, and to establish ourselves firmly, so far as the meaning of the question goes, on grounds that we can hold throughout the debate.

QUESTIONS ON LESSON II

1. Distinguish between the everyday use of the word "question," and its use in Argumentation. Give an example of a "question" in Argumentation.
2. How many subjects should a question *generally* have? Why? Illustrate.
3. How many predicates should a question *generally* have? Why? Illustrate.
4. If a student wishes to debate a question with a plural subject or predicate, how can he separate it so as to avoid confusion? Illustrate.

5. Why is it generally better to debate such a question at two different times?
6. What do we mean by a restrictive or modifying phrase or clause?
7. What purpose does such a phrase or clause serve?
8. Bring into class three questions stated in proper form; one a simple question, one a question with a modifying phrase, one with a modifying clause.
9. What is the first step to take in order clearly to understand a question?
10. What does careful definition require of the student?
11. What four things does accurate definition require of the student?
12. Define the terms in one of the questions mentioned.
13. How may the meaning of the question as a whole be explained?
14. If a question is recast and still is not clear, what should be done?
15. What is the office of illustration in explanation of the question?
16. How may an explanation be made clearer by telling what a thing is not?
17. How may the question be affected by the position of a restrictive clause or phrase? Illustrate.

LESSON III

THE ISSUES

HAVING chosen, stated, defined, and explained our question, we are now ready for the discussion. But when we take up the discussion, we must do so in a logical and convincing way. To make this discussion clear and convincing we must learn how to proceed. We have already learned that in order to have a debate we must have a difference of opinion, that is, some must believe on one side and some on the other. Now in all cases where this difference of opinion exists, there will be found two, three, four, or more points of *fundamental* importance on which the two sides disagree. These are the points on which depends the proving of the question, and if they are clearly expressed, every reasonable person will see that if a side establishes these points it will prove its contention. These points are the linked chain, so to speak, that

holds up the proposition. To illustrate: suppose a valuable hanging lamp is suspended from the ceiling by a chain of three or four links; now, each link of that chain is absolutely necessary to the support of that lamp. To remove a link, or greatly to weaken a link, is to cause the precious lamp to fall and to break in pieces. So it is with every question that we discuss. There is always a chain, of a certain number of links, that supports the question. Each one of these links is absolutely necessary to the proof of the question. If we take away one, or if one is so weak that the other side can easily break it, our case is hopelessly lost. Every question that can be debated has these fundamental links, and these links which one must prove to establish the question are called *issues*.

For example, take the question, "Boards of arbitration, with compulsory powers, should be established to settle labor disputes." After we have learned just what the meaning of the question is and have gained a general knowledge of it, we shall doubtless ask ourselves, "What must we prove in order to establish our case?" and we decide that, since what we

propose is something new and out of the ordinary, the first thing for us to do is to show that there is a *need* for such boards as we propose. Next, if there is really a need for such boards, we must show that such boards can really be established, that is, that there are no obstacles sufficiently large to deter the operations of these boards. Our second problem, therefore, is to show that such boards would be *practicable.* Having proved two steps, something yet remains. Our problem may be both needful and practicable, and yet the particular thing that we propose may work more harm than good. To establish our case we must show that such boards would be *beneficial.* These are the issues of this question. No reasonable person can doubt that if we establish these three points, we prove our case. To prove the last point we would have three minor issues, that is, we would show that it would benefit the laborer; second, the employer; third, the general public. Briefly stated the case might take this form: —

I. Needful.
II. Practicable.

III. Beneficial: —
- A. To laborer.
- B. To employer.
- C. To general public.

Now in this statement of the issues of the above question, the force of the illustration of the hanging lamp is apparent. The question is the hanging lamp. The links in the chain are the three issues. Each one of these issues is absolutely indispensable to the support of the question, just as each link in the chain was absolutely indispensable to hold up the lamp. To destroy or leave out one of these issues, is to fail to establish the question, just as the lamp would fall to the ground if a link of the chain were removed or broken.

Take for a second example, the question, "The city should provide free text-books for high school students." After careful inspection and thought we see that the question has primarily two aspects, an educational aspect and an economical aspect, and that these two introduce, as most economical and educational considerations do, a third and minor aspect, namely, the moral. In these three phases of

thought the whole question is included. These are the issues. If we can prove that —

I. It is more economical for the city to buy the books;

II. It is better from the educational point of view for the city to buy the books;

III. It is better from the moral standpoint, we establish the question.

If we succeed in establishing these points, no reasonable person will doubt that our question is proved.

Take a third example. Let us find the issues in the question, "Suffrage should be taken from the negroes of the South." After we have read up the question, we say that this is evidently a question of expediency. The question immediately divides itself into two propositions: one shows the *need* of such action; the other must show that such action will be *beneficial.*

From these examples it must be clear what we mean by the word "issues." And it must also be clear, by a careful scrutiny of the issues in these examples, that the issues when found are the points which, if proved, establish the

proposition. Without further explanation of what the issues *are*, let us proceed to a few practical hints about how to find them.

How to find the Issues

No absolute rule can be laid down as to the method to be pursued in finding the issues of a debate. They are always there, and they can always be found. A thoughtful, logical person, who reasons carefully, will be more likely to find them than one who has not such abilities. Sometimes the issues are very easy to discover. It is not unusual for them to appear in the definition of the question. Take, for example, the question, "Grant was a greater general than Lee." In this question, having defined the term "great general" and enumerated his qualifications, as (1) military knowledge, (2) executive ability, (3) foresight, (4) courage, (5) perseverance, (6) humanity, we have the issues clearly stated by the very act of definition. Only in questions of comparison, however, do the issues appear in definition.

Generally, the issues are not so apparent. They are in most cases a matter for serious

thought and study. But when they are really found and clearly stated, the fact that they are the issues will be evident to every reasonable person.

Before laying down rules that may help the student in finding the issues, it may be well to warn him against mistaking minor matters of difference for issues. The issues are fundamental matters of disagreement, and usually include the minor matters. This mistaking trivial disagreements for issues is like taking hold of the finger of an adversary when we ought to grapple the whole body.

The surest way of discovering the fundamentals on which a question hinges is, not to decide on them until we have first examined our own minds to see what we know about the question; and, second, read up both sides of the question. Careful thinking and reading are absolutely essential to the successful debater.

I. *Examine your own mind.*

It is said of the great Webster that, when asked how he prepared himself on a subject, he replied, "I first examine my own mind

searchingly, to find out what I already know about the subject, and then I read to learn what I don't know about it." The debater should first explore and utilize what knowledge he has before he seeks farther. But when he has his knowledge in usable form, the next thing for him to do is to read. This process of self-examination should be one of deliberate thought.

II. *Read both sides of the question.*

Lord Bacon once said, "Reading maketh the full man." He was right; if one would be full of his subject, he must read. The "well-read" debater is a hard adversary, because no matter at what angle you attack him you find him equipped for defence. The "well-read" debater will know more than his own side, he will know the other side of the question as well as his own. If he knows both sides of a question, he cannot be surprised in a debate. He will know the strong points of the other side and will be prepared to meet them. Webster not only knew both sides of the great questions which he debated, but he could state the position of the opposite side more clearly

and more forcibly than those who opposed him. After having thus stated the arguments of the other side with great clearness, he would proceed to demolish them.

In order to read effectively on a question one should proceed in a systematic way.

A. In the first place, it is usually best to read for a general understanding of the question. Newspaper and magazine articles and encyclopædia extracts are very often helpful in giving a broad, general idea. As the study increases and matters of detail begin to suggest themselves, a special study of specific things, such as documents, authoritative papers, original investigations by experts, or the declarations of men of reputation on certain points, will be of great assistance in gaining the precise knowledge necessary for the discussion. The reading should always be from the general to the particular.

B. The next thing to remember while reading is to be careful. The careful reader is not necessarily the slow reader, but he knows when to slacken his pace and read slowly. The careful reader is on his guard lest an important

matter pass under his eye unnoticed. When he does find an important point, he pauses until he absorbs it thoroughly.

C. Next, one should read thoughtfully. The thoughtful reader weighs each matter that suggests itself as bearing upon the question under consideration. He gives to it its value, he compares it with what he already knows, and looks at it in its relation to the whole question.

D. One should also read critically. The critical reader makes sure that what he reads is trustworthy before he accepts it. The critical reader discriminates between talk and authority. He does not put so much confidence in what John Nobody says as in what Solomon Wiseman says. He distinguishes between articles written by novices and articles written by men of experience.

How to recognize an Issue

So far, we have been learning how to inform ourselves about a question, how to use the knowledge in our minds, and how to read. We have been gaining points on our question, and the thing that now confronts us is, how

to pick out the issues of the debate from the general mass of material. There is no absolutely fixed way, but there are some things that are generally true of an issue that may help us to recognize it when we come across it in our reading or thought.

In the first place an issue is a matter of *fundamental importance.* That is, it is a matter that must be proved to establish our case. Suppose, for example, that we are reading on the question, "The city should furnish free text-books for high school students." If during our reading we come across the statement that school boards get generous discounts on books when they buy them in large quantities, and hence the total expenditure for books bought in this way is much less than when individuals buy them at retail, such a statement suggests at once one fundamental phase of the discussion, namely, the *economic.* Again, suppose that one reads somewhere that "if individuals bought their own books they might take them home at will, or write short comments by the teacher on the margin, or insert notes, or otherwise mark the book in such ways as would

make it especially valuable to the possessor; of course, such an observation would at once suggest the matter of *educational* advantages to be gained by such a system. This being a fundamental matter, it becomes an issue. And so we might find the issues in any case, but we must always bear in mind that the issues are fundamental matters.

Another way to help in the recognition of an issue is to ask, "Can I admit this point without hurting my case?" If you cannot afford to admit it, it is probably a matter of importance; and if this point which you cannot afford to admit is fundamental, it is probably an issue.

There are four rules, which, if carefully followed, will greatly assist in recognizing an issue.

I. *Exclude from the discussion all matter foreign to the question.* For example, take the question: "The history of trades-unions, for the past twenty years, has shown them to be detrimental to the best interests of society." It is evident, from a glance at the question, that any facts brought in to show that twenty-

five years ago labor-unions were detrimental or beneficial would be out of the range of the present discussion. Or to show, or attempt to show, that trades-unions would benefit society in the future would also be out of the range of the present discussion. Or to show that labor-unions have been beneficial to the employer or the laborer, other than in so far as they are a part of society, would be irrelevant to the present discussion.

However, we might take for the issues that trades-unions have been beneficial to —

A. The employer,
B. The laborer,
C. The general public,

and consider each as a part of society, and proving that they have been beneficial to each, prove that they have been beneficial to society. We are bound by the words of the discussion to a period of twenty years, and any facts regarding the benefits or evils of trades-unions outside this period are foreign to the present discussion.

II. *Exclude from the discussion all points*

on which both sides agree or which the other side admits. For example, take the question, "State boards of arbitration, with compulsory powers, should be established to settle labor disputes." The affirmative may start out by excluding from the discussion the idea of *conciliation* by saying: "We agree with the other side that these disputes should be settled by conciliation wherever conciliation is possible. In fact, the question really presumes that all attempts at conciliation have been tried and failed before arbitration becomes necessary. Therefore, all discussions regarding conciliation will be ruled from the debate." It must be clear that it does no good to discuss matters on which both sides agree. Therefore, the best way to get rid of such matters is to tell our audience that we are going to put them aside, adding the reasons for doing so.

III. *Put down the main points on which both sides disagree.* After we have put from our consideration all those matters that might otherwise clog the wheels of the debate and thus hinder our progress, it is well to take an account of stock. This may be done by briefly

stating all the points of weight on both sides of the question. When this is done, we are ready for the final step in finding the issues.

IV. *Arrange all the points on the question under a few heads, that in themselves constitute a logical reason for the truth of the question.* For example, take the question, "The city should furnish text-books for high school students." Suppose, after considerable reading, we have put down in our note-book at random the following points on both sides of the question: —

1. Poor children cannot afford to buy books.
2. Poor children cannot afford to buy books and use them, perhaps, for only a term.
3. Parents are glad to have their children go to work, so as to be relieved from buying books.
4. In some families several children have to use one book, a condition which seriously impairs their work.
5. The individual purchase of books is more expensive than the purchase in quantity by school boards. The child buys at retail, whereas the school board buys at wholesale.

6. When the city purchases books, the teacher has to spend considerable time in keeping records of books loaned.

7. The use of books by different pupils increases the possibility of the spread of disease.

8. There is not so great a temptation to steal when the city furnishes the books.

9. Pupils can learn more when the city furnishes the books, because each child is sure of having a book and of having it as long as he wishes.

10. If the individual buys his book, he is more likely to keep it neat.

11. When the individual buys his own book, the school board can, when a class has completed a book, ask the next class to use a different text-book, whereas if the city furnished books, it could not afford to change often. Thus the city often has to use out-of-date instead of up-to-date books.

12. When students own their books, they may take them home at will and avoid much "red tape."

13. If the city buys books, there are fewer delays and mistakes.

14. When the pupils own their books, they can mark notes and comments on the margins of the leaves. Such marking often increases the value of a book to a student.

15. Text-books soon go out of date, so that they become rubbish on the hands of the student.

The thing for us now to do is to put all these points under a few logical heads, that in themselves constitute the proof of the question. As we look over these points we see that some have an economic bearing, that is, money would be saved by doing it; some show that it would be an educational advantage; others still, that there is a moral effect upon the student to be taken into account.

From this list of points collected during our investigation, we must arrange what we think to be the issues. Instead, however, of arranging them under their respective heads, the authors have placed a question at the end of the lesson, giving the student an opportunity to do it for himself.

QUESTIONS ON LESSON III

1. What are the issues of a debate?
2. Explain why the points picked out in the examples cited are the issues

3. When do issues appear in the definition?
4. What is the difference between issues and minor issues?
5. What is the first step in finding the issues? Why?
6. What is the second step? Why?
7. What is the best way to read on a question?
8. What is meant by careful reading?
9. What is meant by thoughtful reading?
10. What is meant by critical reading?
11. When we strike a point that we think is an issue, how do we test it?
12. What are the four rules that assist in finding an issue?

EXERCISES ON LESSON III

1. Develop the issues in the question, "Suffrage should be taken from the negroes of the South."
2. Write down the main points on some question and then select the issues.
3. Pick out the issues on both sides of the question, from the miscellaneous points given on the "text-book" question.

LESSON IV

EVIDENCE

HAVING determined for our discussion the fundamental points, on the proving of which depends the establishment of our question, we are now ready to learn how to prove these fundamental points. Proof is a term used to designate everything, no matter of what nature or how produced, that serves to show the truth or falsity of a proposition. Everything that constitutes proof may be divided into two classes, Evidence and Arguments. In this lesson we shall consider that division of proof that comes under the head of Evidence, leaving that division of proof that falls under the head of Arguments for the next lesson.

Either a thing is so or it is not so; it is a fact or it is not a fact. Grant showed humanity toward Lee when that general sur-

rendered at Appomattox or he did not. If he did, the *fact* may be used to prove that Grant possessed this quality of a great general. Labor-unions have either compelled employers to refuse to hire non-union men or they have not. If they have, instances where this has occurred would be so many *facts* to show that labor-unions have injured the non-union laborer. These particular facts tend to prove a general fact, which is that labor-unions have injured the non-union laborer. This illustrates what we mean by evidence. *Evidence is the name for whatever is produced to establish facts in the process of proof.*

In legal uses there are several classes of evidence, but for our purposes we do not need to go into the discussion of them. The evidence that we shall use is largely the evidence of *authority*, because many of the questions that are interesting to discuss involve facts regarding the truth of which we must take the written words of others. Such questions as, "Grant was a greater general than Lee," and "Suffrage should be taken from the negroes of the South," require that we gather much of

our evidence from what authorities say in books. Sometimes, however, in such questions as, "The city should furnish free textbooks for high school students," or, "Coffee should be served in our school lunch room," we have a question that calls for personal investigation.

We take evidence from authority when we take the statement that a thing is so from a book, document, or paper written by a man or group of men who, we think, are reliable. For example, if we should look into the report of the United States Industrial Commission, Vol. 17, 1901, and find instances recorded where labor-unions had declared strikes that had blocked traffic, the evidence would be accepted as facts in the generation of proof to show that labor-unions have injured the general public. Or, if the same authority showed repeated instances where labor-unions had secured employment for their members, provided for distressed families, and advocated arbitration for the settlement of disputes, the authority would be accepted as evidence to establish these several facts.

Sources of Evidence

The sources of evidence are (1) reading, (2) observation. We read to find out what others have observed that we have not. Every fact, if it be well established by the authority that we read, may be used by us in proving the proposition. In the course of reading on our question, every fact that will assist in the generation of proof should be carefully noted, and the authority for the fact likewise noted.

By observation, we get our facts first-hand. We know a thing is so because we have seen it. We investigate a matter for ourselves and we know the facts of the case. Such a thing is so or such a thing is not so. Suppose that, while studying the question, "The city should furnish free text-books for high school students," the suggestion is made that when a student owns his own books he can mark them with notes and comments by the teacher; to learn the facts of the case, a pupil investigates for himself and finds that scarcely a pupil in a school where the pupil owns the books marks them in

this way. The result of this personal observation is clear. The establishment of this fact almost entirely demolishes the theoretical position of the other side. The value of personal observation in securing facts for evidence cannot be overestimated.

Tests of Evidence

After we have been working for some time on a debate, we have a great mass of evidence which it seems possible to use in proving our side of the case. But we can use only a small amount of what we gather, and it is very necessary that what we do use be of the highest quality. The question therefore arises, How shall we know what evidence is strong and what is weak? There are two sets of tests that we may apply that will greatly help us in our selection: I. Tests by which to examine the evidence itself. II. Tests by which to examine the sources of evidence.

I. Tests by which to examine the evidence itself.

A. Is the evidence consistent with itself? The following extract from a bulletin, issued

by Napoleon just after the battle of Austerlitz, illustrates this point exactly:—

"Till late at night the Emperor rode on the field of battle superintending the removal of the wounded—spectacle of horror, if there ever was one! Mounted upon swift horses, he passed with the rapidity of lightning, and nothing was more touching than to see those brave men recognize him. Some forgot their sufferings and said, 'Is the victory perfectly assured?' Others said, 'I have suffered for eight hours and have had no succor since the beginning of the battle.' With every wounded soldier the Emperor left a guard who caused him to be transported to the ambulances. Horrible to say, forty-eight hours after the battle, there was still a great number of the Russian wounded that had not been attended to. All the French wounded had attention before night."

None can read this passage without discerning its inconsistency. First, we have the Emperor during several hours of the night going over the field of battle and causing the wounded to be removed, and at the end of the passage we

learn that all the French wounded had surgical attention *before* night.

B. Is it consistent with ordinary human experience?

For example, if two boys were discussing the question as to how long one could remain under water, and one boy should declare that he had once remained under water seven minutes, but was very tired when he came up, the fact might be reasonably doubted as inconsistent with ordinary human experience.

C. Is it consistent with the other known facts of the case?

Suppose, for example, that one should declare that the United States Industrial Commission, in Vol. 18 of its 1901 report, speaks of the efficacy of arbitration in settling the great Pennsylvania coal strike. This would be evidence not consistent with the other known facts of the case, because the report was published in 1901, and the coal strike did not occur until 1902–1903.

II. Tests by which to examine the sources of evidence.

A. Of evidence gained by reading.

1. Is the authority qualified to write concerning the fact? To be an authority a man must have had unusual experience, or have given special attention and study to the subject in question. For instance, a man who had never taken part in, or seen, an intercollegiate football game would hardly be called an authority on the game. Such a man might be a senator of the United States and be an authority on national affairs, but not an authority on this question.

2. Is his authority recognized? It is useless to quote a man as an authority unless those who are the final judges (that is, the audience) recognize, or are willing to recognize, him as an authority.

B. Of evidence gained by observation.

1. Are there any physical defects, such as poor eyesight, hearing, and so forth, that impair accuracy of observation?

2. Are there any mental defects, such as imperfect memory, eccentricities of mind, or inability to express clearly the idea in mind, that might give a false impression?

3. Are there any moral defects shown by

lying, exaggeration, interest in the outcome of the controversy, that might lead to distortion of the truth?

It is very necessary in producing evidence in support of a proposition to test it thoroughly. This applies not only to the evidence which one produces for the support of one's own case, but it applies equally to that which an opponent produces to support his case. To detect a weakness in the evidence of an opponent is to weaken his case and often to overthrow it.

Choice of Evidence

The next thing to remember about evidence is to *select the strongest.* When evidence is derived from authority, one should always be sure that the authority is weighty. When the choice lies between two authorities, always choose that one who has had the larger experience in the matters under controversy.

Thus far we have been speaking of evidence as matters of *fact* that may be used in proving a proposition. Our next step will be to put facts together and from them to draw a conclusion. This process is called Argument, and a

treatment of the subject will be taken up in our next lesson.

QUESTIONS ON LESSON IV

1. What is evidence?
2. How is it related to proof? Illustrate.
3. Where must we get most of our evidence on the questions we debate? Why?
4. What are the two scources of evidence? Illustrate each.
5. Why do we need to test our evidence?
6. Give the tests by which the evidence itself may be examined. Illustrate each.
7. Give the tests by which the sources of evidence may be examined. Illustrate each.
8. What should be the guide in choosing evidence?

LESSON V

ARGUMENTS

THE connection between evidence and arguments is very close, but they are entirely different. The difference between evidence and arguments is precisely the same as the difference between the figures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, etc., and multiplication. The first are facts, the second is a process. But the connection is very close, because one depends on the other. If we did not have figures, we could not have the process of multiplication. If we did not have facts or evidence, we could not have an argument (which is a process).

An argument is a process of making proof out of facts. Having given two or more facts we infer a third fact. For instance, we say that if one puts one's finger on a hot stove it will be burned. Having given the fact, "hot stove," and the fact that "one puts one's finger upon

it," we infer that a burn will result. This process is called argument. Argument takes facts and weaves them into proof.

Argument is what we often hear described in the common phrase as "putting two and two together." A good illustration that shows the relation of the terms "evidence," "arguments," and "proof," is furnished in the making of a box out of boards and nails. The boards and nails correspond to evidence or facts; the process of putting them together corresponds to arguments; the result (which is the finished box) corresponds to proof.

Before taking up the kinds of argument, it may be well to warn the student against a very common error into which beginners often fall. We often hear about the "argument from authority." The term is misleading; there is no such thing in the strict sense of the term as "argument from authority." The so-called argument from authority occurs when we quote what an authority says on a subject and say that it is therefore a fact. The truth of the matter is that what we quote is *evidence from authority* and is in no wise an argument. The

authority is simply testifying as to a fact, and we do not have an argument until we use this fact in connection with another or other facts to establish a third fact.

Another point that needs to be made clear before we pass to the kinds of argument is the difference in proving single points and in proving the whole proposition. We have learned in the lesson on issues that, if we should prove certain matters of fundamental importance, we should prove our case, that is, the whole proposition. It is clear that in order to prove any one of these issues we shall have to prove a number of distinct points. In proving these distinct points we shall have to use evidence and arguments, and as far as *that point* is concerned, the result of the use of evidence and arguments is proof; that is, whenever we prove an issue or a subdivision under an issue, the result of the evidence and argument, or arguments, is proof so far as the particular point is concerned. And the sum total of the particular points proved, necessary to the whole proposition, constitutes the proof of the whole proposition.

Three Kinds of Arguments

There are three kinds of arguments, classified according to the manner in which they are derived. They are, I. Arguments from Cause, II. Arguments from Sign, and III. Arguments from Example.

I. *Arguments from Cause*

The Argument from Cause is used when we proceed from a known cause to a known or unknown effect. The mother tells her little girl who holds a beautiful vase in her hand to be careful not to drop it, because, if she does, it will be broken in pieces. This is an argument from cause to effect; that is, given such a cause, we say that it is sufficient to produce such an effect.

Again, suppose it is spring; the previous night has been cold and to-day the sun is warm and bright. We say that the sap will run well to-day. The argument is from cause. Given those conditions which are sufficient to cause a certain effect we declare that the effect will occur.

Or, take the question, "Coffee should be served in our school lunch room." We say that

coffee has in it a drug known as caffein. This drug has an injurious effect upon the nerves. Therefore, we conclude that coffee may cause physical injury to pupils. The cause is sufficient to produce the effect.

Again, in Scott's "Ivanhoe," near the beginning of Chapter XV, we have five arguments from cause given by Fitzurse. He says: "If Richard returns, he returns to enrich his needy and impoverished crusaders at the expense of those who did not follow him to the Holy Land. He returns to call to fearful reckoning those who, during his absence, have done aught that can be construed offence or encroachment upon either the laws of the land or the privileges of the crown. He returns to avenge upon the orders of the Temple and Hospital the preference which they showed to Philip of France, during the wars in the Holy Land. He returns, in fine, to punish as a rebel every adherent of his brother, Prince John."

It will be sufficient to explain the first of this series. The fact that Richard and his followers are needy and impoverished by their long journey and battles in the Holy Land is

sufficient cause to conclude that when he returns he is likely to enrich himself and his followers at the expense of those who did not follow him.

Arguments from cause depend almost wholly upon experience. There are thousands of causes operative around us that we do not recognize as such, nor do we recognize their relations with the effects they produce. It is by careful observation that men have learned that one thing causes another. If we could discover all the causes of things we should know everything, and, as Tennyson puts it, know "What man and God is."

In all arguments of this class it is the purpose of the arguer to show that if we have an existing cause, a certain effect or effects will naturally or necessarily follow; but it is right here that the argument may be attacked, by showing that the connection between cause and effect is incomplete. The method of attack will be taken up in the lesson on fallacies.

II. *Arguments from Sign*

The Argument from Sign occurs when the appearance of one thing suggests another that

usually accompanies it. It is just what the name implies, a sign that a thing is so. For example, some boys are playing fox and hounds. John tells James that he will run down the west road while James runs down the parallel road, and if he sees the "foxes" he will whistle twice. This is to be a sign for James to join John.

In the argument from sign there is always an appearance or suggestion that signifies the presence or relation of something else. It depends upon the association of ideas.

There are three cases in which the argument from sign occurs:—

A. When we argue from *effect* to *cause*. This case is the opposite of the argument from "Cause," just taken up. For example, we see smoke and say there is a fire. Of course it is clear that the fire caused the smoke and that the smoke is really an effect or sign. Or, we see ice forming on the river and we say that the temperature is below the freezing point. The cold is the cause and the ice is the effect. The argument is from sign.

B. When we argue from one *effect* to

another *effect* of the same cause. For example, we argue from one's appearance that one's health is poor. This is clearly an argument from one effect to another effect of the same cause. The cause might be overwork, a bilious attack, or a cancer. Whatever be the cause, both the ill health and the sickly appearance spring from it; that is, they are effects of the same cause, and to say, when we see one, that the other must be present, is to argue from one effect to another effect.

C. When we associate facts that have always occurred together in the past, and argue that when one appears the other will appear also.

For example, we hear the school bell ring, and we say that it is nine o'clock. Now, there is no causal connection between the two; that is, the school bell ringing does not cause it to be nine o'clock, nor *vice versa*. But we argue that since the two have occurred together, or one directly after the other numberless times in the past, when one occurs the other will occur also.

So in the illustrations given; first when

from the ice on the river, the effect, we argue to the low temperature, the cause; second, when from the ill appearance, an effect, we argue to ill health, another effect; third, when we associate with the ringing of the school bell, nine o'clock; we employ the argument from sign.

III. *Arguments from Example*

The Argument from Example is a form of argument that seeks to establish a law, in order to prove something included by the law. It is the final resort of all argument in that all "Cause" and "Sign" arguments must turn to it to find support for their general laws. For example, the only support for the general law implied in the "Cause" argument, that if a child drops a vase on the floor it will break, is found in the method of example, which says, "Yesterday you dropped a vase and it broke, Mary dropped one last week and it broke," or in general, when a vase is dropped on a hard floor it has been broken. Therefore, if the child drops a vase, it will be broken.

There are two divisions under the argument

from example: A. The argument by establish ing a general law. B. The argument from analogy.

A. The argument drawn by establishing a general law.

There are two cases under this division. The first case arises when the general law is *stated* and specific instances are cited to prove it. For example, having stated as a general law that it is unwise to change a policy in the midst of an important or dangerous undertaking, we proceed to cite specific instances illustrating the principle as follows: it would hardly be safe to swap horses while crossing a stream; it would be unwise for a tight-rope walker to forget suddenly that he was walking a rope and imagine himself walking on shipboard; it would be a foolish policy for a minister to change his text in the middle of a sermon; it would be disastrous to change generals in the midst of a campaign.

The second case arises when the general law is not stated, but is so evident from the repetition of examples that it is *inferred.* Suppose a boy should say to another, "I am going to

take my canoe and shoot the rapids after dinner," and the second boy replies: "Last year two boys were drowned while making the attempt. Two years ago a boy was drowned there. In five years four boys have lost their lives in the rapids while canoeing." The general principle here is not stated in so many words, but it is easily inferred from the instances cited. The general principle, he who canoes in the rapids is liable to lose his life, is implied without declaring it in so many words.

B. The Argument from Analogy.

The argument from analogy is one of the most frequent and forcible modes of argument. It is used to show clearly the force of the principle which otherwise is more or less obscure. It is a short generalization with the general principle suppressed, but to be valid the general principle must be identical in both the matter in controversy and the analogy. This is further illustrated by the example cited above under "When the general law is stated," page 63.

Analogy has been a favorite mode of argument with the great minds of the world

When Christ asks the question, "Do men gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles?" he uses the argument from analogy. The general principle underlying the argument is, "Like produces like," so when he wishes to show that certain "false prophets" dressed in "sheep's clothing" were inwardly like "ravening wolves," he says, "By their fruits ye shall know them." Having thus stated the general principle, he puts the opposite argument in more vivid form.

Socrates employed the argument from analogy when he wished to show the absurdity of the method of electing magistrates from the Athenian Senate by lot. He said: "Would it be wise for sailors about to set out upon a long and dangerous cruise to cast lots among themselves to see who should be pilot, when the lot might as surely fall upon a wretch who knew nothing of the shoals and rocks in their course, or the art of navigation, as upon the most careful seaman?"

The argument is clear. The principle involved was precisely the same in both cases. The manifestation of this principle was similar

but the terms in which this principle was expressed were different. The purpose of the analogy was to illuminate a principle which was more or less obscure, by applying the principle to a similar case, yet dressed in different and more vivid terms.

The argument from analogy easily passes into the argument from generalization. But to do so we have to state the general principle and then enumerate instances to prove it. To illustrate, take the analogy of Socrates. To make it a generalization we state the general principle, that it is unwise to use chance in the selection of the guides of enterprise. Then we support the general principle by enumerating specific instances to show its truth, as a pilot selected by lot from a rabble of sailors might be most unfit for steering a ship safely through a perilous ocean. A magistrate who should be selected by the accident of fortune might not possess any of the qualities requisite for guiding the ship of state. To cast lots for a master builder among a group of carpenters might result in the selection of one wholly incompetent for such an office. To cast lots

among a group of teachers to see who should teach the Greek of the school, might result in the selection of a teacher who, although especially well equipped to teach the sciences and history, knew very little or nothing about Greek.

So much for the three kinds of arguments. It has doubtless been observed by the student that certain *facts* might come in to disturb the validity of some of the arguments cited in this lesson. In the next lesson, under the head of fallacies, we shall show the various principles by which the validity of an argument may be tested.

QUESTIONS ON LESSON V

1. What is the difference between evidence and argument?
2. What is an argument?
3. Give an illustration showing the relation of the terms "evidence," "argument," and "proof."
4. How is the term "argument from authority" misleading?
5. What is the relation between issues and minor issues?
6. Name the different kinds of arguments.
7. What are arguments from cause? Give an example.
8. What are arguments from sign?
9. Name the cases in which this argument may occur Give an example of each.

10. What are arguments from example? How many cases are there?
11. Name the cases under "argument drawn by establishing a general law." Give an example under each.
12. What is the argument from analogy? Give an example.
13. Show how the argument from analogy can be converted into an argument from generalization.

LESSON VI

FALLACIES

ARGUMENTS are not always conclusive. Be as careful as we may, we must test our work most critically lest we find inconsistencies therein. *Inconsistencies in argument are called fallacies.* There are many kinds of fallacies, but we shall consider only the more important ones that will be of especial use to us in debate. They are: —

I. Fallacies of Definition.
II. Fallacies of False Cause.
III. Fallacies of Too Few Facts.
IV. Fallacies of Insignificant Resemblances.
V. Fallacies of Composition and Division.
VI. Fallacies of Ignoring the Question.
VII. Fallacies of Begging the Question.

I. *Fallacies of Definition*

We learned in a previous lesson the need of careful definition of the terms of a question, lest there be confusion due to the fact that

some terms may have a double meaning. Now in the progress of a debate, a word may be used by the debater in a particular sense and then treated as if true when used in another sense.

Often the ambiguity is of a subtle character so that different opinions may be held concerning it. Thus we might argue:—

"He who *harms* another should be punished. He who communicates an infectious disease to another person harms him. Therefore, he who communicates an infectious disease to another person should be punished.

"This may or may not be held to be a correct argument, according to the kinds of action we should consider to come under the term 'harm,' according as we regard negligence or malice requisite to constitute harm. Many difficult legal questions are of this nature, as, for instance:—

"Nuisances are punishable by law.

"To keep a noisy dog is a nuisance.

"To keep a noisy dog is punishable by law.

"The question here would turn upon the *degree* of nuisance which the law would interfere to prevent. Or again:—

"Interference with another man's business is illegal.

"Underselling interferes with another man's business.

"Therefore underselling is illegal

"Here the question turns upon the kind of interference, and it is obvious that underselling is not the kind of interference referred to in the major premise.

"Every one of these words 'harm,' 'nuisance,' and 'underselling' gets the arguer into difficulty by being used in a double sense."[1]

RULE 1. Be sure to use the same meaning of a term in each step of your reasoning, or, if you do use it in more than one meaning, be sure to distinguish between the meanings.

II. *Fallacies of False Cause*

This fallacy occurs when the connection between cause and effect is weak. It may take any one of three forms.

A. *When we argue that because one thing follows another it is caused by it.* Some of our

[1] Jevons, "Lessons in Logic," p. 171.

popular superstitions contain this fallacy. For instance, a man found a horseshoe and nailed it over his door, and later a fortune fell to him. Simple people argued that the first was the cause of the second.

People start on a journey on Friday; an accident follows, and people argue that it was because the journey was made on Friday.

A good illustration of this fallacy is found in a recent book on Labrador fishermen: —

"An original preventive of sea boils — with which the fishermen are cruelly afflicted upon the hands and wrists in raw weather — was evolved by a frowsy-headed old Labrador-man of serious parts.

"'I never has none,' said he, in the fashion of superior fellows.

"'No?'

"'Nar a one. No, *zur!* Not *me!*'

"A glance of interested inquiry elicited no response. It but prolonged a large silence.

"'Have you never had a sea boil?' with the note and glance of incredulity.

"'Not me. Not since I got my cure.'

"'And what might that cure be?'

"'Well, zur,' was the amazing reply, 'I cuts my nails on a Monday.'"[1]

In all these examples there is an entire lack of causal connection. They are coincidences. Coincidences must not be taken for causes.

B. The second fallacy is *assuming a causal relation where none exists.* Beans are rubbed on warts and then buried. The warts disappear, and their disappearance is said to be caused by the beans. The baseball team takes a mascot on a trip; if they lose the game, he was a "Jonah," if they win the game, the mascot brought the luck.

In both cases something is taken as the cause that really has nothing to do with the case.

C. Lastly, *when we take a cause that is capable of producing certain results, and argue that it produces results that really come from other causes.* For example, when we argue for the value of education, by saying that to-day the average production *per capita* of the people of Massachusetts is almost twice the average *per capita* production of the people of the United States as a whole; while two hundred

[1] "Dr. Grenfel's Parish," p. 39.

years ago, before education had such a growth, Massachusetts was poorer and more unattractive than almost any other section of New England; we are guilty of the fallacy of attributing to a cause things of which it is not the cause. The great prosperity of Massachusetts is not due to *education* alone, but to protection of home industries, improved machinery, division of labor, decrease of intemperance, facilities in transportation and so forth, as well.

RULE 2. Do not mistake that which follows a certain thing for an effect. Do not assign to inadequate causes impossible effects.

III. *Fallacies of Too Few Facts*

This is a very common fallacy. It occurs when we "*jump at a conclusion*" *without first gaining adequate facts.* A man ignorant of college life, who reads the daily papers and constantly comes across accounts of college athletics, and, finding no reference to studies, concludes that all they do in college is to play football and baseball, is guilty of this fallacy. He has drawn his conclusion without proper investigation. Again, the depositor who, upon the

failure of a bank, concludes that all banks are untrustworthy and all bankers swindlers is guilty of this same fallacy.

RULE 3. Observe as many examples as possible before drawing a conclusion.

IV. *Fallacies of Insignificant Resemblance*

This fallacy occurs in the argument from analogy, when the general principle underlying two or more things or incidents is not the same in each. To be significant these two resemblances must include the same operative principle.

To illustrate this fallacy: suppose we say, "What the human heart is to the human body, the metropolis is to the great commercial world. An enlargement of the heart produces disastrous results on the physical organism; so, too, an overgrown, congested metropolis is liable to produce fatal commercial effects."

Obviously, this is "an appearance of resemblance where there is no real similitude." A comparison of this false analogy without an identical operating principle, with those true analogies with identical operating principles,

which we have cited under the head "Argument from Analogy," in Lesson V, will speedily show the difference between the true and the false.

RULE 4. Do not mistake an insignificant resemblance for a significant one.

V. *Fallacies of Composition and Division*

The fallacy of composition occurs when we conclude that what is true of one or more parts of a whole is true of the whole. For example, if we should argue that because John Smith, Mary Smith, and Harry Smith were large of stature, therefore the whole Smith family were large of stature, we might be guilty of this fallacy.

Division is the converse of the fallacy of composition. It occurs when we assume that what is true of the whole is also true of its parts taken separately. For example, a base-ball team coming together play poorly and we conclude that the individual members of the team are poor players. In this conclusion we may be guilty of the fallacy of division, because the poor playing may have been due to poor

team work, whereas there may have been several "star" players on the team.

RULE 5. Do not argue that what is true of some of the parts is necessarily true of the whole; or that what is true of the whole must be true of all its parts.

VI. *Fallacies of Ignoring the Question or Arguing beside the Point*

This fallacy occurs when one tries to evade the point at issue: (A) by talking on something akin to the subject; (B) by browbeating the other side; or (C) by talking to the crowd for the sake of arousing their emotions in one's favor, without appealing to their intellects on the point at issue. For example, if one is trying to show the good effects of the prohibitory law and gives extended attention to the merits of temperance, he is talking on something akin to the subject, but *beside the point;* if he rails against the other side and accuses his opponent of upholding intemperance and allying himself with the enemies of the commonwealth, he is browbeating his opponent, and is still arguing beside the point; or, if he tries to

appeal to the emotions of his audience by telling touching stories of the ruin that intemperance has wrought, however appropriate such stories may be for other questions, so far as this particular point (the successful operation of the prohibitory law) is concerned, the arguer is still arguing beside the point and is guilty of this fallacy.

RULE 6. Watch yourself to see that you are talking on the question.

VII. *Fallacies of Begging the Question*

This fallacy consists in *assuming something as true that needs to be proved.* Such assumption may take any one of three forms: —

A. Assuming the truth of a proposition identical with or equivalent to the conclusion to be proved. For example, if we should make a proposition, "Arbitration, *being* the best way of settling labor disputes, should be adopted by labor-unions," we should assume in our premise that which is really to be proved.

B. Assuming the truth of a general proposition that includes the truth of the proposition we are attempting to prove. For example,

take the general proposition, "A boy who wilfully disobeys his teacher should be expelled from school." The teacher has told John not to look out of the window again, and John wilfully disobeys. Therefore John should be expelled from school. If we admit the main proposition of this reasoning, the conclusion is true, but, when we take the main proposition for granted we beg the question, because the main proposition itself needs proof.

C. "Arguing in a circle." This fallacy occurs when we take two propositions and use each to prove the other. For example, suppose after a scrimmage in a game of football the right guard shows a big bruise on his face. If in order to account for the bruise, we should say that the opposing left guard fouled the right guard, and then if we try to show that the bruise is proof of the foul, we should be arguing in a complete circle.

Spencer in his "Education" shows this fallacy in present methods of teaching. He says: "Finding that the child is not willing to acquire facts that are distasteful to him, they are forced upon him, and by denying his

mind the knowledge it craves, and cramming it with knowledge it cannot digest, we produce a morbid state of the faculties, and a consequent disgust for knowledge in general; and when, as a result, partly of the stolid indolence we have brought on, and partly of still continued unfitness of studies, the child can understand nothing without explanation, we infer that education must necessarily be carried on thus. *Having by our method induced helplessness, we straightway make helplessness an excuse for our method.*"

RULE 7. Do not assume more than you have proved.

RECAPITULATION OF RULES

1. Be sure to use the same meaning of a term in each step of your reasoning, or if you do use it in more than one meaning, be sure to distinguish between the two meanings.
2. Do not mistake that which follows a certain thing for an effect.

   Do not assign to inadequate causes impossible effects.
3. Observe as many examples as possible before drawing a conclusion.
4. Do not mistake an insignificant resemblance for a significant one.

5. Do not argue that what is true of a part is true of some of the whole; or, what is true of a whole must be true of all its parts.
6. Watch yourself to see that you are talking on the question.
7. Do not assume more than you have proved.

QUESTIONS ON LESSON VI

1. What is a fallacy?
2. Name seven different kinds of fallacies.
3. What are fallacies of definition? Give an example. Give the rule that tells us how to avoid them.
4. What is the fallacy of false cause? In what three ways may this fallacy occur? Give an example under each. What two rules help us to avoid this fallacy?
5. What is the fallacy of too few facts? Give an example. Give the rule that helps us to avoid this fallacy.
6. What is the fallacy of insignificant resemblance? Illustrate it. What rule helps us to avoid it?
7. What is the fallacy of composition? Give an example.
8. What is the fallacy of division? Give an example. What rule helps us to avoid fallacies of composition and division?
9. What is the fallacy of ignoring the question or arguing beside the point? In what three ways may it occur? Illustrate each way. What rule helps us to avoid this error?
10. What is the fallacy of begging the question? Give an example under each of the three forms that it may take, stating first what the form is. What rule helps us to avoid this fallacy?

LESSON VII

REFUTATION

THE study of evidence and arguments has taught us how to construct our proof. The study of fallacies has taught us how to detect errors in it. In Lesson I we learned that in order to have an argument there must be a difference of opinion. This difference of opinion necessitates two sides to an argument. Thus far we have been learning how to construct our own side of the debate. We shall now learn *how to weaken or destroy the proof of the side that opposes us*, by the process known as refutation.

We have already learned that in an argument one side is not wholly right nor the other side wholly wrong, but that something can be said on both sides. When we attack the proof of the opposite side, therefore, we shall expect to find many strong points as well

as many weak ones. Our problem is to know which of these points to refute. This brings us to the most essential step of refutation.

What to Refute

The most essential point in the process of refutation is at the very start. No good debater will ever begin to refute an opponent until he has "sized up his case"; and no good debater will ever attack a main point in his opponent's case before he has made perfectly clear to the audience just what point he is attacking, and its precise relation to the whole case of his opponent.

To illustrate, suppose the question, "Under present conditions it would be to the advantage of England to adopt a policy of protection," was under discussion; the affirmative having presented their case, a negative speaker might begin a rebuttal argument somewhat as follows: "The whole case, then, of the affirmative is, as I understand it, comprehended in two main propositions. The first proposition is that a policy of protection should be adopted by England to prevent the unfair practice of

competition commonly known as 'dumping. The second proposition of the other side is that this policy of protection should take the form of preferential duties."

The speaker might then continue, saying:

"I shall address myself to the first of these propositions, leaving the second to the last negative speaker.

"The substance of the argument as advanced by the other side on the first proposition is that the high protective barriers which great industrial nations have thrown about themselves have enabled them to sell goods at high prices in an exclusive home market; and it has encouraged them, in order to gain the economies of large-scale production, to sell in unprotected England at prices below that with which English industries can compete, hoping thereby to drive English industry from the field, and having thus gained a market, to recoup themselves later by an advance in prices. This 'dumping,' as the practice is called, the affirmative argue, is ruining English industry, and to check this unfair competition they affirm that a policy of protection should

be adopted. This, stated as fairly as I am able to do, is the substance of their argument for protection against 'dumping.'

"In meeting this argument of the other side I shall show —

"First, that far from injuring English industry, the practice of 'dumping' has actually benefited English industry;

"Second, that the process is suicidal to the nation practising it and will therefore be transient; and,

"Third, that protected nations 'dump' on each other even over the highest duty walls, and that it is therefore doubtful if a protective tariff would help England in this respect.

"Addressing myself to the first point, namely, that 'dumping' has actually benefited English industry," etc.

Some such method in following out a rebuttal argument is absolutely necessary. A debater who cannot "size up" his opponent's case and take it up in an orderly manner will never gain great success in the art. To get your opponent's case in a nutshell is the first thing in refutation; to select the one or two or more

propositions on which he bases his case and, one by one, to demolish them is the next thing to do.

This brings us to three warnings: I. Don't refute too much. II. Don't refute too little. III. Don't refute yourself.

I. *Don't refute too much.*

It is impossible and unnecessary to refute all that has been said on the other side. If your opponent is a good debater, he has clustered his whole argument about a few matters of fundamental importance, and has stated them so clearly that they stand out like mountain peaks. Matters of minor importance, the hills, so to speak, may be ignored and passed over in silence, but the matters of vital importance, the mountains, never. If your opponent is a poor debater, he may fail to make these vital matters stand out. In that case the task is much easier. Call for his case. Point out his fault. Ridicule his attempt to impose a balloon of air upon an audience that wants fact and substance. Show up the weakness of his case, incisively, but charitably, and then persistently reinforce your own side and the result need not be feared.

II. *Don't refute too little.*

If too much time is spent in refuting trivial points there will be little time left in which to take up vital matters on which the question hinges. Then, too, there is another fault that the young debater often encounters: that is spending too little time on a matter of vital importance. He disposes in a few sentences of a matter that really requires more serious consideration. One should have so much material at hand in usable form that when one of these matters of vital importance comes up, every point against it will be clear and supported adequately.

III. *Don't refute yourself.*

Sometimes a debater is a bit careless and fails to catch the exact force of his opponent's argument. He is liable, therefore, in rebuttal to misstate the argument of his adversary and proceed to refute, not his opponent's argument, but one of which he himself is the author. Such an accident is highly disastrous, because it gives the other side a chance to accuse one of misrepresenting their position and of trying to win by unfair means. This has a bad effect upon the audience.

How to Refute

There are four methods used in refuting an argument of an opponent. The first method is to meet argument with argument, to match play with play. The second method is to detect fallacies in the arguments of an opponent. The third method is by logical devices. The fourth method is to ridicule, belittle, or ignore arguments that cannot be proved false or overthrown by straightforward argument.

I. The first method may be employed when various reasons are stated to show the preponderance of weight on one's own side. This method is also used when we take some of the opponent's proof and use it for our own side. A large part of what we have said under "What to Refute" might well apply here.

II. The second method of refuting is to apply all that we have learned in the lesson on fallacies to the argument of an opponent, and if any fallacy appears in his argument, state it clearly and show its relation to the whole case of the opponent.

III. The third method, of logical devices, for

refuting arguments of an opponent has not yet been explained. A logical device is a process by which we take facts or arguments which have been admitted, or which will be admitted, and by putting them in new relations to each other show inconsistencies.

The favorite logical devices for overthrowing an opponent's argument are —

A. *Reductio ad absurdum.*
B. Dilemma.
C. Residues.

A. *Reductio ad absurdum.*

This method is used when the arguer adopts the line of argument of his opponent, and by carrying it to its logical conclusion shows its absurdity. For example, in a civil case before a court, it was asserted that a corporation could make no verbal or oral contract because it had no *tongue.* The one who made this statement was arguing that the corporation could make a written contract. The judge showed the fallacy here by the method of *reductio ad absurdum*, by simply saying, " Then according to your own argument, a corporation could not

make a written contract because it has no *hand.*"

B. *Dilemma.*

The Dilemma consists in reducing an issue to the place where your opponent must choose one of two possible positions, and then showing that both positions are untenable. For example, in "Ivanhoe," Bois-Guilbert is in a dilemma when he fights with Rebecca's champion. If he wins in the fight, Rebecca will be burned at the stake. If he loses the fight, Rebecca will go free and he will lose what he most wished to gain. He will lose Rebecca on either turn of fortune.

Burke meets Lord North's proposition to allow the colonies to raise their quota of revenue in their own way, with this dilemma: —

"Let it also be considered that, either in the present confusion you settle a permanent contingent, which will and must be trifling, and then you have no effectual revenue; or you change the quota at every exigency, and then on every new repartition you will have a new quarrel."[1]

[1] Burke's "Select Works," Vol. I, p. 227.

C. *Residues.*

The method of Residues is similar to the dilemma, only there are more possibilities in the problem. Having divided the problem into its three or four possibilities, we show by a process of elimination that only one of the possibilities can happen. For example, John went to town this morning. There are four ways by which he might go: the south road, the common road, by train, or by trolley car. We employ the method of residues when we say that he could not have gone by the south road, because the bridge is up and no one is allowed to cross; he could not have gone by train, because he started from the house five minutes after the only train by which he could have gone was scheduled to leave; he probably did not go by trolley car, because it does not go within a mile of a place of business where he intended to call; therefore we conclude that John went to town by the *common road.* Because, if the statement that he has gone is correct, and there are only four possible ways for him to go, and we have shown that in all probability he did not go by any one of three of these ways,

we conclude that he must have gone by the fourth.

IV. Sarcasm or Ridicule, the fourth and final method of refutation that we shall consider, although often serviceable, is one that must be employed with extreme caution. It easily becomes a fallacy. To ridicule or treat sarcastically a flashy or improbable argument of an opponent is legitimate. To try to diminish by clever caricature the force of an argument that sounds well, is, if it is not overdone, often very effective in weakening an opponent's case.

It is well to remember that whatever method is used, the one purpose in mind always is, to weaken or destroy the argument of your opponent, and in no case to allow any one of his arguments to count for more than it ought to count.

QUESTIONS ON LESSON VII

1. What is refutation?
2. What is the first step in refutation?
3. How must an opponent's case be taken up?
4. What are the three great dangers in refutation? Explain each.

5. Explain the method of refutation by means of meeting argument with argument. Give an example.
6. What is the method of refutation by detecting fallacies in the argument of an opponent? Give an example.
7. Name the "logical devices" used in refutation.
8. What is *reductio ad absurdum?* Give an example.
9. What is dilemma? Give an example.
10. What is the method of residues? Give an example.
11. What is the value of ridicule in refutation, and when should it be used?

LESSON VIII

THE BRIEF

We have now advanced to that point in our study where we may safely begin the structure of the proof of our side of a debate. To ascertain just where we now are, let us suppose that we have been working on a single question; we have stated it properly; we have defined all doubtful terms carefully and accurately, and explained the meaning as a whole; we have found the issues of the debate, and carefully chosen evidence and arguments to support those issues; and we have examined our arguments for fallacies. Having done all this, we are now ready to put our whole case in a form for presentation. What we want to know is, how to arrange the proof of our side of the question, so that it will be most convenient, clear, and convincing.

One may study a question very faithfully,

one may work out the proof of particular issues with great care, and yet utterly fail in the presentation from want of an orderly and convincing arrangement of the proof.

We have learned the value of an outline in other forms of composition. In Argumentation the necessity of an outline is even more important, and the lack of one more highly disastrous, than in any other form. What the skeleton is to the human body, the outline is to the finished debate. This outline in debate, which we are to adorn with flesh and comeliness and life, is called the *brief*, and when it is so adorned it is the finished speech or debate, which we shall consider in succeeding lessons.

The brief is the debate in miniature. It contains practically all the material that will be used in proof. Definition, explanation, issues, evidence, arguments, summaries, — in fact, all that will be needed for a perfect whole, in the finished debate, should find its skeleton in the brief.

Just as in the human skeleton we should not expect to find the skull in the place of the arm,

or the hand bones where the foot bones ought to be, so in the brief we shall expect to find each part in proper relation to every other part, and each part in proper relation to the whole, and nothing will appear to be out of joint or misplaced.

Every brief should consist of three parts, — Introduction, Discussion, and Conclusion; each arranged in a definite order, and no head or subhead should have more than a single complete statement.

The introduction should contain in general —

I. The origin of the question.

II. The statement of the question.

III. Definition of terms.

IV. The explanation necessary for a clear understanding of the question.

V. A statement of admitted matter and irrelevant matter.

VI. A clear statement of the issues.

In the discussion —

I. Each issue should be a main head, and there should be no more main heads than there are issues.

II. Each issue should read as a reason why the question is true or not true.

III. Each subheading or series of subheadings should read as a reason for the truth of the statement above it.

IV. All refutation should be stated with absolute clearness.

The conclusion should contain —

I. The statement of the case as it stands.

II. A summary of all the points proved.

As all human skeletons belong to the same general class and yet all are different from each other, so all briefs for debate belong to the same general class, and yet each is different from every other. The skeleton of a Chinaman never looks like the skeleton of a negro; and the brief of a debate does not look like the outline of a sermon. As we could hang up a human skeleton and say that it is typical of all human skeletons, so we might construct a brief of a debate and say that it is typical of all debating briefs.

In order to make the subject of briefs clear, let us construct a *typical* brief, and then make a *particular* brief to show its application.

A Typical Brief

QUESTION, RESOLVED: THAT —— ——

INTRODUCTION

I. Origin of the question.
   A. Brief history of the question.
   B. Recent public interest calls it to our attention.

II. Information necessary to an understanding of the question.
   A. Data.
   B. Definition of terms.
   C. Interpretation of the question as a whole.
      1. Exposition by different methods.

III. Clearing ground for discussion.
   A. Statement of the burden of proof.
   B. Statement of admitted matter.
   C. Exclusion of irrelevant matter.

IV. Statement of the issues.
   A. Outline of the case.
   B. A statement of the main issues that each speaker will establish.
   C. A statement of what "I myself" will prove.

DISCUSSION

I. The first issue is true, for —

A. This is true, for —

1. This fact.
2. This fact.
3. This fact.

a. The truth of the above fact is based on the authority of ——, found in Vol. —, p. —, of —— document.

B. This is true, for —

1. This fact.

a. The authority is ——

b. Other testimony is ——

2. This fact.

a. If this is true the other cannot be true; but this is true as shown by the following evidence.

(*a*) ——

(*b*) ——

(*c*) ——

Therefore the other cannot be true.

II. The second issue is true because —
  A. Experience proves it, for —
    1. In 1870 such were the conditions.
    2. In 1880 such were the conditions.
    3. In 1890 such were the conditions.
    4. In 1900 such were the conditions.
    (The authority is Vol. —, p. —, Document ——.)
  B. Reason and common sense show the truth of it, for —
    1. Given the causes stated, the effects must be as stated.
    2. To argue the opposite of this is absurd, because,
      a. If we carry the argument to its logical conclusion it becomes an absurdity.

CONCLUSION

I. Our whole case is as follows: —
  A. First issue.
  B. Second issue.

In almost every brief it will be found necessary to introduce refutation, and the question naturally arises, "Where shall the refutation be placed?" While there are no absolute rules

possible, it may be helpful to the student to remember that, in a brief, as in other kinds of composition, the beginning and the end are the important places, and whenever the point to be answered is an important point, and you feel sure that you have a strong answer ready, then, usually, such answer should be placed either near the beginning or near the end.

Sometimes a piece of refutation will be pertinent to a particular division of a debate, and in all such cases it should be introduced at that point in your debate, where its introduction is necessary for the carrying out of the scheme of the discussion.

Having given a typical brief, showing the general method of preparing a brief, we will now give a particular brief on a definite question.

Particular Brief

RESOLVED: THAT CAPITAL PUNISHMENT SHOULD BE ABOLISHED

FIRST SPEAKER ON THE AFFIRMATIVE

INTRODUCTION

I. In the United States capital punishment has been abolished in Maine, Michigan,

Rhode Island, Wisconsin, and Colorado.

A. In thirteen more states life imprisonment may be substituted.

B. In four more states like discretion is given to trial courts.

II. Capital punishment is by far the most brutal punishment left to us of the penalties which our fathers used.

A. It is now used in this country practically only in the case of murder.

III. Nothing short of an absolute and demonstrable case of necessity can justify the death penalty.

A. The burden of proof rests logically on the negative.

IV. The object of punishment is the prevention of crime and the reformation of criminals.

V. The affirmative will prove its case by showing that —

A. Imprisonment is a better preventive of crime than capital punishment.

B. Imprisonment is preferable to capital punishment.

DISCUSSION

I. Imprisonment is a better preventive of crime than capital punishment.

A. A large proportion of murders are committed with no thought for the consequences.

1. A large proportion of murders are impelled by blind passions or very powerful motives.

2. The average homicide does not commit his offence with the fear of the law before his eyes. See "The Criminal," by August Drahms.

3. Mr. William Talleck (an Englishman who has studied the subject) and the Select Committee of the New York Assembly on capital punishment agree that it is a mistake to suppose that the fear of a possible chance of death has often much influence in deterring men from any act to which they are impelled by any powerful passion or motive.

B. Certainty is a more efficacious element in punishment than extreme, but uncertain, severity.
   1. The Select Committee of the New York Assembly and Mr. William Talleck, in "The Penalty of Death," state this emphatically.
   2. Most criminals think that a chance of a penalty (the infliction of which is uncertain) being applied in their own case is very small.

C. The execution of capital punishment is uncertain.
   1. Juries will not return a death sentence unless on exceedingly strong evidence.
      a. They are afraid of having some one's blood on their hands.
      b. Death is irrevocable.
   2. Many criminals escape justice on the ground of insanity.
      a. Insanity and homicidal tendencies are peculiarly and frequently associated.

3. The carrying out of an execution depends largely on what kind of a man the governor of the state is.
   a. There are sure to be all kinds of appeals to the governor for release.
   b. Most governors would be influenced by the desire for popularity.
   c. Example is the Mary Rogers case in Vermont.
4. There is a strong public sentiment against capital punishment.
   a. Capital punishment for lesser offences has gradually been abolished.
   b. There are constant and strong agitations for its complete abolishment.
   c. Examples are the Mary Rogers and Mabel Page cases.
   d. In 1900 there were over five times as many homicides in the United States as in 1882, while the number of executions was about the same.

5. "I submit that capital punishment is merely an imaginative and theoretical condition, and that it never is, never has been, and never will be, inflicted with absolute certainty." See "The Penalty of Death," by William Talleck.
6. Statistics show how uncertain is the carrying out of capital punishment.

	HOMICIDES	HANGINGS	LYNCHINGS
1882	1467	121	100
1889	6225	130	100
1900	8275	119	100

a. Above facts were collected by the Chicago *Tribune* from newspaper reports.

b. In the United States the proportion of the number of executions to the number of sentences is about 4 per cent. In England from 1860–1879 it was 56 per cent; in Germany, 1869–1878, 0.2 per cent; in France, 1870–1879, 1 per cent.

D. The carrying out of a sentence of imprisonment is fairly sure.
   1. Imprisonment is not irrevocable.
   2. Juries are not afraid of imprisonment.
   3. Imprisonment does not cause so much protest from friends and the public.
      a. It is quietly done.
   4. In cases of no real doubt as to guilt, but where absolute evidence is unattainable, a jury would acquit a man if the punishment for guilt were death, whereas they would give him a deserved sentence if imprisonment were the consequence.

E. Capital punishment overruns the country with ex-murderers.
   1. Execution of capital punishment is uncertain, as shown above.
   2. Juries are unwilling to sentence a man to death, as said above, except on absolutely certain evidence.

a. Example from "The Penalty of Death," by William Talleck.

3. In 1900 there were about 8000 homicides who were not punished by death.

F. Some men dread long, or life imprisonment, more than they do death.

1. Many murderers wish death.

a. They are desperate men.

G. Capital punishment increases the number of murderers.

1. Capital punishment makes murder less terrible.

a. The fact that a state will take a man's life cheapens life.

2. The report of the Select Committee of the state of New York on capital punishment says, "The hangman is himself the direct or indirect cause of more murders than he ever punishes or avenges."

3. The special notoriety attendant on executions and capital trials has a great attraction for many criminals.

a. By abolishing the publicity of executions our own law has half acknowledged their inutility if not their perniciousness as deterring examples.

H. Experience shows that long, or life imprisonment works better on the whole than capital punishment.

1. Men and women are not hanged for petty thefts at the present day; yet our property is far more secure than it was in the eighteenth century, when the practice commonly obtained in England. See "Abolition of Capital Punishment," by Mark Drayton, Westminster, 155–424.

2. In Holland, since the abolishment of the death penalty, the number of murders in proportion to the population has decreased. See "Abolition of Capital Punishment," by Drayton.

3. In Portugal, before the abolishment of the death penalty, there

were never less than 140 murders per year; by 1880 there were only half that number. See "Abolition of Capital Punishment," by Drayton. (Abolished *de facto* 1843; *de jure* 1867.)

4. In Belgium, the number of murders ten years before the abolishment was 921; after the abolishment, 703. See *North American Review*, Vol. 116, p. 138. (Abolished 1863.)
5. In Finland murders are extremely rare. See *North American Review*, Vol. 116, p. 138. (No execution since 1824.)
6. In Michigan, thirteen years prior to abolition, there were 37 murders; in the thirteen years subsequent 31 murders, although the population increased 50 per cent. See "The Criminal," by August Drahms.
7. Rhode Island showed a decrease similar to Michigan. See "The Criminal," by Drahms.

8. In Wisconsin, under abolition, murder fell off 3 per cent from 1871 to 1887. See "The Criminal," by Drahms.
9. In Maine, since abolition, murder has fallen off at least 3 per cent.

CONCLUSION

I. Imprisonment is a better preventive of crime than capital punishment.

SECOND SPEAKER ON THE AFFIRMATIVE

II. Imprisonment is preferable to capital punishment.

A. —— ——

1. etc.

QUESTIONS ON LESSON VIII

1. What is a brief?
2. Of what three parts should it consist?
3. How should each part be arranged?
4. What should be the form of each head and subhead?
5. How many statements should there be in a head or subhead?
6. What should the introduction contain?
7. What is meant by the origin of the question?
8. What is meant by the statement of the question?

9. What is meant by the definition of terms?
10. What is meant by the explanation of the whole?
11. What is meant by admitted or irrelevant matter?
12. What is meant by a statement of the issues?
13. In the discussion, what distinction should each issue enjoy?
14. How many main heads should there be?
15. What should be the form in which each issue is stated?
16. What should be the form of the statement of each head and subhead?
17. How should refutation be stated?
18. What should the conclusion contain?
19. Choose a question, study it, and put into the form of a brief.

(This will require the careful supervision of the teacher; considerable time should be spent in brief-drawing.)

LESSON IX

THE WRITTEN DEBATE

HAVING completed our brief, it is a simple task to put our debate into final form for presentation. The reason why we do not present our debate from the brief-form is, because careful connection of each part by means of clear and forcible language is more likely to come after the whole speech has been written. We write our debate in order to have a smooth and persuasive presentation.

The young debater rarely possesses resources abundant enough to guarantee an elegant and persuasive presentation from a brief, without having previously written and rewritten his argument. The last remaining step, therefore, before coming to Part II of our treatise, which includes matters that bear on presentation, is to learn how to write an argument from a brief.

The written argument has just as many

parts as the brief; that is, an introduction, a discussion, and a conclusion; but these parts are not so marked in the written argument. Refutation may come anywhere in the debate, but whenever it is introduced, the audience should be made to understand clearly the point that is being answered. Each particular part has its peculiar function, and the object of this lesson is to show what that function is.

Introduction

The main direct object of the introduction is to give an audience all the information necessary to an intelligent understanding of each step, as we proceed with the discussion. The next object of the introduction is so to captivate the feelings of our audience that they become well-disposed toward us as we proceed.

To gain this first end, clearness is the chief requisite. If our style is clear, our audience will never be in doubt as to the meaning of the question under discussion, as to what belongs to the present discussion, and what is foreign to it, or as to what are the real issues on which it must stand or fall. All debating is an appeal

to the judgment. It is unfair to ask an opinion from an audience before the matters on which it must render its opinion have been clearly presented. In order that an audience may accept the logical chain of reasons for the truth of the question presented in the discussion, it must clearly understand the meaning of the question and have clearly in mind those facts of which the discussion presupposes a knowledge.

The second end of the introduction is to be so amiable and fair, that your audience has confidence in what you say because of this evident fairness. Herein is the whole end of persuasion. Two men may say precisely the same thing, and yet an audience will receive it from the one and reject it from the other. A good speaker should always be in tune with his audience. He may not always actually agree with them, but even in his disagreement his manliness should be in tune with their highest natures. That speaker is a good speaker who assumes that there are friendly relations between himself and his audience. Sometimes one faces a hostile audience, but a good speaker

never assumes an indisposition to be friendly; and when he is forced to recognize openly the opposition of opinions, he does so frankly, justly, fairly, and in such a spirit of conciliation that his audience fears no deceit or unfair play.

Throughout the introduction persuasion should not be neglected. At the very outset the audience is "sizing up" the speaker most critically. Then is the opportunity for him to gain their good-will, modestly and quietly. The persuasive element in the introduction should not be neglected any more than the elements of clear explanation that appeal to one's understanding.

Discussion

The discussion is the main part of the debate. The introduction is useful only in so far as it prepares the audience for a clear and candid appreciation of the discussion. The conclusion is valuable, only in so far as it brings home to the audience forcibly and persuasively the whole case as embodied in the discussion.

If the brief has been properly drawn it is a bony but not shapeless affair. It lacks some-

thing, but what it lacks is not form but flesh and blood and life. To finish our preparation we must add the clearness, force, and grace of rhetoric to the unbending, irresistible logic of a bare and bony brief.

The work in Argumentation presupposes some knowledge of rhetorical principles. Excellence in the written debate demands not only a thorough and properly constructed brief, but the rhetorical principles of the good use of words, and the choice, number, and arrangement of words in the sentence, paragraph, and whole composition. Variety in the use of words and in their arrangement; a knowledge of climax, antithesis, and figures; a skilful use of connectives and transitional words and phrases; adaptation of speech to the audience, the subject, and the occasion, — all pertain to rhetorical excellence which cannot be passed over lightly, if the brief is to be transformed into the finished argument.

Conclusion

The purpose of the conclusion is to bring home forcibly and persuasively one's whole case

as a unit; to emphasize important points; to prejudice the audience in one's own favor, and to reduce the force of the opponent's case in the eyes of the audience. This is a difficult task, and when artistically done requires the finest instincts of the orator. But it should be the aim of every debater to approach such artistic proficiency. Frankness, absolute fairness, sympathy, a fine feeling of scorn for even an insinuation of meanness, are qualities which will immeasurably help the debater to sound the intellects of his audience and rouse their feelings into a healthy and normal activity for his cause.

QUESTIONS ON LESSON IX

1. Why do we write a debate?
2. Name the parts of the written debate.
3. What governs the introduction of refutation?
4. What are the purposes of the introduction? Explain each.
5. Why is the opening of the speech important?
6. What is the discussion?
7. How is it related to the brief?
8. Why does excellence in Argumentation presuppose a knowledge of rhetoric?
9. What is the purpose of the conclusion?

PART II

PRESENTATION

LESSON I

MANUSCRIPT, BRIEF, AND NOTES

THUS far we have followed the progress of the debater in his work through the successive stages of preparation to the point of the actual presentation of his speech. He has gained all the material for the discussion; he has prepared a careful and correct brief and clothed it with rhetorical force and fluency. He is now ready actually to interpret, in spoken words, before an audience, his position on the given question. He is to be a debater in reality and solve the problems of the public speaker.

In the matter of presentation different speakers employ different methods, but from the standpoint of progression there are only three methods that need claim our attention.

I. Presentation from Manuscript.
II. Presentation from Brief.
III. Presentation from Notes.

The beginner, no matter what method he finally employs in presentation, should write his speech with great care, even though in the progress of the debate he should throw a part of it away and supply the deficiency from other sources. He never knows what he has on a question until he puts it on paper. Rufus Choate continued his careful writing all his life, and declared that "careful, constant writing is the parent of ripe speech," but that it must be "rhetorical writing, composed as in and for the presence of an audience." Presupposing, therefore, that the speech has been written carefully for the purpose of presenting to a real definite audience, let us consider in this lesson the presentation in the above-named progressive order.

Presentation from Manuscript

In the presentation from manuscript there are three stages, a consideration of each of which may be helpful.

The first stage occurs when the debater reads his discourse. Of course no speaker would be so discourteous to his audience as to undertake to read a discourse with which he

had not previously familiarized himself; we may therefore take for granted that the debater will be reasonably familiar with his speech. The question now arises, since the manuscript is to be read, Shall it be read from the desk or from the hand? Occasions differ, and men differ, but generally where the discourse is to be read and the audience knows that it is to be read, it gives the speaker more freedom and a finer command of the audience to step forward, manuscript in hand, properly adjusted as to light, and read it in a straightforward manner. If such is the case note-paper is a better size than foolscap; one side only should bear writing, and it should be legible at such a distance from the eye as best suits the intercourse between the speaker and his audience. When a speech is so read from a manuscript, the problem is to gain the maximum of attention from the audience, and every diversion that the management of the speaker's manuscript causes interrupts its successful solution.

The second stage in the presentation from manuscript occurs when the speaker has so familiarized himself with his speech that he is

not confined exclusively to his manuscript, and plans to speak passages from memory, and to employ, to some extent, the use of gesture. The aim in this manner of delivery is to secure freedom and force. The speaker tries to be so familiar with his manuscript that he is not absolutely bound to it. He may even insert sentences and paragraphs to suit the demands of the occasion. He tries to make his manuscript a help, not a hindrance. Such a method permits a speaker to speak forcibly, because it permits him to watch his audience and discover the range of its response.

The ideal speaker should be so full of his subject that he needs no manuscript. He should possess a mind logical enough to hold the framework of his cause in proper perspective throughout the speech, and be orator enough to let the occasion, the audience, and the cause draw persuasion from its proper sources. In so far as speaking from manuscript hinders in the securing of these conditions, the method is a poor one to follow. And in so far as he who delivers from manuscript can approach these conditions, he does well.

It will be very helpful to easy delivery if the manuscript lie on a desk before the speaker. Foolscap paper is usually more convenient than smaller-sized paper, because it does not necessitate moving so many sheets during the speech and thus more freedom is secured. Writing should be only on one side of the paper. Every sheet should be separate and of a uniform size. Each sheet should be numbered so as to prevent confusion. When one sheet is moved, it should be done carefully and noiselessly from left to right, so that the movement does not divert the attention of the audience.

The third method of presentation from manuscript is the delivery of a set speech from memory. This method is often employed when the speaker has something definite to say, in a definite time, on a definite occasion. It is a method that cannot be followed by one who speaks extensively. But, if the speaker is inexperienced, or if his argument is to come at the opening of a debate when he can determine in advance what should be said, it may often be profitably employed. A memorized speech often lacks spontaneity. If the

mind is not back of the speech, the speech will be mechanical. A speech learned so thoroughly that it is turned over to the lower centres, permits the mind to go where it will. To speak naturally and spontaneously the mind must command and re-create the thought memorized. If a speech is to affect an audience at a given moment as a fresh, real, spontaneous utterance, the speaker's mind must be choosing at that moment, from all other words, those fresh, real, spontaneous words to which he is giving utterance. Herein lies the secret of speech from memorization. A speech from memory is valuable only in so far as it is intellectualized.

Presentation from Brief

Probably, to the skilful debater, there is no possession so valuable as his brief. It represents to him the result of his most careful thought. Every item of it has its peculiar weight and enjoys a distinction that no other part enjoys. He has debated over and over again in his mind each issue and each subordinate point. He knows the relative and intrin-

sic value of every bit of evidence that he has introduced. He knows how far it will go toward establishing his case and wherein it is strong or weak. He knows just what he will say if this point be attacked, he knows what he will say if another important point be ignored, by the other side. To him it is the mighty framework that must stand all opposing storms.

The experienced debater is secure with his brief. He needs careful, consistent, and frequent writing, but he is secure if he has his brief. He writes to gain the best expression and for improvement. He expresses the same thought in many ways. He uses different illustrations. He tries one thing and another until he finds that which is best suited to his purpose. His brief is always the same, but he is dressing it up for presentation, and is trying to give it the suit that most becomes it.

It is not a symptom of insanity to talk thoughtfully to one's self. Very often one gains great benefits in expression and in self-criticism by talking over a brief to one's self. Harsh-sounding sentences, inelegant construc-

tions, flat-falling climaxes, are often detected by talking the brief over to one's self. It is often a great help to try to explain one's case to a person who is generous enough to permit one to convince him of the truth of one's side of the case. Such practice tries one's resources and gives a natural manner of clear presentation.

To acquire fluency of speech, a person should try always to use the best word for his purpose, even in common conversation or when talking to himself. When one comes to a point where a fitting word does not suggest itself, one may say something — anything for the time being — just as it would be necessary to do if one were before an audience; but afterward the point should be taken up again and the right word determined.

In presentation from the brief, then, the argument should have been written and rewritten (not copied when it is rewritten, but written each time with only the brief before the writer). It should be talked over to one's self and explained to friends. In the written form it should never be so long as to fill up

the time limit, because most people condense when they write, and become more diffuse in oral presentation. Unless, therefore, this fact is considered, the speaker will find it impossible to complete his speech in the allotted time.

The brief may be, and it is generally desirable that it should be, convenient to the speaker when the speech is presented. Reference may be made to it without diverting the attention of the speaker in the least degree from his audience. That which is most difficult to attain is a fluent and persuasive delivery from such an outline. This can come only by practice, but early and persistent training will accomplish the result.

All that was said in Lesson IX as to the application of rhetorical principles, and especially as to the use of connectives and transitions, is equally necessary in the presentation from the brief.

Presentation from Notes

It is very natural for one man to talk to another. Men in the ordinary affairs of life

are continually debating with one another. It is not natural for men to recite to each other ideas that they themselves have previously written, or which they have appropriated from others. It would be ludicrous indeed to see a man try to sell another man a suit of clothes by reading the good points of the clothes from a previously prepared paper. He might assume a most elocutionary attitude, pitch his voice properly, gesture frequently, and make a transition with every new idea; but probably such a person would not be as successful in his attempt as the salesman who met the situation fairly, and used proper arguments in fitting places as the occasion prompted, naturally and earnestly. As soon as a person gets into the actual business of life he finds that men want thoughtful contribution to the matter at hand. The speaker must have *something* to say; something that he *wants* to say; something that he wants to say *clearly;* something that he wants to say *persuasively.*

To gain this end there are only two methods of speech available; from brief and from notes.

Presentation from brief permits the introduction of new matter — either new evidence or rebuttal — during the process of the discussion. It also permits the use of persuasion to suit the humor of the audience and the occasion.

When one has familiarized one's self with the brief of a speech, and has written and rewritten it so that the whole trend of the thought and method of expression is forcibly stamped on the mind, the brief is more or less dispensable. The speaker knows his case; he knows the proof of each point; he feels a mastery of his subject; he is ready for any advance from his opponent; ready for attack from any quarter according to the disposition of the battle. If the opposing side sallies forth with cavalry, he knows how to meet it with infantry. He has his artillery ready, though he may not have to use it. He does not plan to use so many regiments of the mounted guard, so many battalions marching at double quick, to operate so many cannon and so many Gatling guns. The exigencies of war determine the kind of attack, flank, rear, or front; and the kind of force, infantry, artillery, or cavalry. He is ready for any emergency and has his forces

where he may summon the right kind at the right time.

The chief value of notes on the main speech is twofold; first, notes that suggest the main plan often assist the memory to call up the next point after an earnest and concentrated utterance on one division of the debate; second, quotations are often introduced from authorities which become more forcible when read than when spoken from memory. It is more natural to read aloud the thought of another writer, especially if the quotation introduced is of some length, than to try to quote from memory. The very presence of a book or document is an element of strength.

We pass now to the subject of rebuttal presented from notes. Rebuttal should be neither "cut and dried" reply, nor wholesale extemporization. It should seek a happy mean. Webster, after his reply to Hayne, said that he had been preparing that speech all his life. But he chose his thunderbolts and hurled them as the occasion demanded. The most effective rebuttal is that whose body is constant but whose

dress varies to suit the occasion. It is "cut and dried" in so far as the main fundamental points that give substance are concerned. It is judicious extemporization, so far as the application is spontaneous and pat to the case at hand.

The occasions are very rare in which an opponent will be found to have introduced any material which could not reasonably have been anticipated. Most questions debated in a formal way are discussed very thoroughly before they are presented publicly; and it is very unusual for a debater to devise a method of proof which a careful opponent will find surprising or unusual. The point of surprise is usually on the general arrangement of proof, the form in which it is stated, or peculiar stress on what was deemed a minor point.

The best preparation for extemporaneous refutation is a correct analysis of the opponent's position, a thorough acquaintance with all probable evidence or arguments that he is likely to produce, and an orderly and convenient arrangement of evidence and argument for overthrowing his position. Evidence is better than

eloquence, although eloquence is good, and the debater who can produce the proof when the proof is demanded, clearly, courteously, and forcibly, is mastering his art.

Card System

The authors have found that the most convenient method of using notes for rebuttal is what is known as the card system.

Just as soon as the debater has read sufficiently on the question to gain its scope and general relations he begins to take notes. He knows now the general trend of his own position and sees the strength of the other side. He now begins his card system by getting one or two hundred cards about the size of a postal card. The cards should take ink without blotting. Every bit of evidence that he thinks he can use in his own case he takes down on these cards, using a different card for every separate piece of evidence. Across the top he labels the evidence, the authority, and where it is to be found. His arguments he labels in the same way. When he comes up for debate he classifies every bit of evidence, putting the evidence

on one point in one group, and the evidence on another point in another group. So also with his arguments; if his opponent quotes from a certain document he selects from his group of cards the quotation, the use of which he has anticipated, and watches carefully to see that his opponent does not misquote. If his opponent strikes a certain argument to which he demands a reply, he selects a group of cards that answers the argument and selects the particular points to which he intends to direct his answer. If evidence is needed on a certain point, he selects a card that gives him the evidence or tells him from what document to quote. The form of the cards may be seen in the facsimiles below.

CARD USED FOR EVIDENCE

N. Am. Rev., Vol. 116, p. 138.	IMPRISONMENT BETTER THAN CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.	E. S. Nadal.
In Belgium the number of murders ten years before the abolishment was 921; ten years after the abolishment, 703.		

CARD USED FOR ARGUMENTS

DUMPING ARGUMENT.
1. Dumping has not injured English industry but benefited it. Evidence, Vol. —, p. —. 2. The process is suicidal and transient. Evidence Card entitled ——. 3. Protected nations dump on each other over highest duty barriers. Evidence, Vol. —, p. —.

The three methods of presentation have been stated and briefly explained. But the student must not gather from this that there are inflexible rules of speech that leave out of account personal peculiarities and individual differences. The true orator apes no one; he is himself, and through his self-mastery brings to his aid whatever of clearness, virility, ingenuity, freedom, tact, and adaptability are called for by the exigencies of the debate.

QUESTIONS ON LESSON I

1. Name three methods of presentation.
2. What are the stages in presentation from manuscript?
3. Explain each.
4. Of what importance is the brief to the skilful debater?

5. Name various methods of preparing a speech from the brief.
6. What are some of the helps in gaining fluency?
7. What is the most natural method of speech?
8. Name four conditions for good speaking.
9. How can they be gained?
10. What is the chief value of notes?
11. What are the conditions of good rebuttal?
12. Explain the card system.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIXES

1. — Brief on Burke's Speech on Conciliation

INTRODUCTION

I. The return of the "grand penal bill"
   A. Leaves us free once more to choose a plan of government for America.
   B. Calls upon us solemnly to review the subject with care and calmness.

II. The subject is so awful that I have felt obliged
   A. To instruct myself in everything relating to the colonies.
   B. To form fixed ideas concerning the British policy.

III. A fixed policy is demanded, for
   A. The frequent changes made by Parliament have reduced America to a deplorable condition.
   B. The public will not watch further experiments with patience.

IV. My scruples against proposing a course have given way, since
   A. Decorum must yield to public need.
   B. Even an attempt to restore order and repose is laudable.
   C. My very insignificance gives me courage, for
      1. You will consider the question entirely on its merits.

V. My proposition is peace through concession, for
   A. It is the only permanent remedy.
   B. It is simple.
   C. It has already been declared admissible, since
      1. The House adopted Lord North's resolution for conciliation.
      2. The House has admitted that complaints of injustice have not been unfounded.
   D. It is honorable and safe, since
      1. The concession comes from the superior power.

DISCUSSION

I. Ought you to concede?

A. The true nature and peculiar circumstances of the object before us invite consideration of the colonies, for

1. America has a rapidly growing population.
2. It has a rapidly increasing industrial value, as shown by
   a. Its commerce.
      (1) The export trade to the colonies has increased twelvefold between the years 1704 and 1772.
      (2) The trade with America alone is almost equal to all England's exports in 1704.
      (3) The export trade to Pennsylvania in 1772 was nearly fifty times as large as in 1704.
      (4) All this has taken place within a single lifetime.

b. Its agriculture.

(1) Instead of importing corn from the mother country, the colonies now feed the Old World.

c. Its fisheries.

(1) These are not only a source of wealth, but show a remarkable spirit of enterprise.

3. The value of America makes force inadvisable, for

a. Force is temporary.

b. It is uncertain.

c. It impairs what it seeks to win.

d. It is not justified by experience.

4. There is in the Americans a fierce spirit of liberty, the result of

a. Their descent from Englishmen.

b. Their popular form of government.

c. Religion in the North.

d. Slaveholding in the South.

e. Their education.

f. Their distance from the seat of government.

B. There is no other reasonable way of dealing with them, for

1. Punishing the colonies by taking away their governments has so far been unsatisfactory, for
   a. They have formed successful governments of their own.
   b. Our actions have seemed to deny the principles of liberty.
2. To change this stubborn spirit by removing causes is impracticable, for
   a. The chief cause, the growing population, cannot be checked, since
      (1) Stopping grants of land would only tend to establish lawlessness.
   b. Impoverishing the colonies would detract from their usefulness and add to their discontent.
   c. Their temper and character are unalterable.

d. They would not consent to a change in religion or education.

e. Humbling the pride of the South by freeing the slaves is not to be thought of, for

(1) The slaves might not accept freedom at our hands.

(2) Offers of freedom would come oddly from a people, themselves engaged in the slave-trade.

f. The distance between us must always remain as a cause to weaken authority.

3. To prosecute this stubborn spirit as criminal is inexpedient, for

a. We can hardly indict a whole nation.

b. We should hesitate to teach that a claim of privilege is treason.

c. We should be careful in judging the right and wrong of this case.

d. We have found this policy hard to apply in Massachusetts.

e. We have so far gained nothing by force.

4. To comply with this stubborn spirit as necessary is the only remaining way.

II. What ought your concession to be?

A. A concession, to be satisfactory, should be of such nature as to answer the actual complaints.

1. They complain that they are taxed in a Parliament in which they are not represented, therefore

a. We must consider not the abstract right of taxation but its expediency.

2. My idea is to admit the people of our colonies into an interest in the Constitution, for

a. All objections on the ground that America, if freed from taxation, will attack the trade laws are mere suspicions and conjectures.

3. The genius of the English Constitution proves by example the expediency of concession, for
   a. Ireland, which could not be subdued by English arms, submitted to the Constitution.
   b. Wales, continually in rebellion under military rule, became pacified when given a share in the government.
   c. Chester and Durham received the same remedy for their disorders.
   d. The situation in these four cases was precisely similar to that in America.

B. The actual concession I propose is the establishment of taxation by grant, not imposition, and the acknowledgment of the legal competency of the American courts.

1. These truths compose six propositions.
   a. The colonies are not represented.

b. They are nevertheless touched and grieved by taxes.

c. No method has yet been devised for their representation in Parliament.

d. Each colony has within itself a body with power to raise, levy, and assess taxes.

e. These assemblies have at sundry times granted large subsidies for his Majesty's service, and their right to do so has been acknowledged by Parliament, for

(1) Resolutions were passed reimbursing the colonies for expenditures.

(2) A message from the King recommended to the Houses proper reward and encouragement for the services of the colonies.

(3) Parliament thus proves the productive nature of revenue by grant, but has no record of revenue by imposition.

f. Experience proves that taxation by grant of the American assemblies is the most agreeable and beneficial way of collecting revenue.

2. If these truths are admitted, the following resolutions result: —

a. It is proper to repeal certain legislations obnoxious to the colonies.

(1) The Boston Port Bill.

(2) The Massachusetts Charter Act.

(3) The Transportation Act.

(4) The Treason Act.

b. It is proper to secure to the colonies a fair and unbiassed judicial body.

c. It is proper to make better provision for the Courts of Admiralty.

Refutation.

C. Some objections remain to be answered.

1. Opponents say my reference to the Chester Act proves too much and

these principles may be applied to all legislation, but

a. The words are Parliament's, not mine.

b. The colonies have never, in a cool moment, rebelled except in the matter of taxes.

c. The Americans will have no interest contrary to the glory of England when they are not oppressed by the weight of it.

2. It is said that the power of grant vested in American assemblies would destroy the unity of the empire, but

a. As a matter of fact this unity does not even now exist.

D. There are some objections to Lord North's plan.

1. The proposition of ransom by auction is a mere project.

2. It is an experiment which must finally be fatal to the Constitution.

3. It does not satisfy the complaints of the colonies.
4. Unless universally accepted, it will plunge you into difficulties, for
   a. It will be impossible to settle the proportion of payments.
   b. It will tax the obedient colonies more heavily than the disobedient.
   c. Instead of a permanent revenue, you have a standing quarrel.
   d. You cannot provide for prompt payment.

CONCLUSION

I. Comparison of the two methods proves the superiority of my plan.
II. My plan provides for an adequate revenue, for
   A. The power of refusal is the first of all revenues, since
      1. Generosity will give more than force can extort.
      2. Emulation of parties will secure sufficient grants.

B. You cannot provide otherwise for the transmission of revenue from America to England.

III. England's hold upon her colonies lies in the justice with which she treats them. English privileges have made America all that it is. English privileges, alone, will make it all it can be.

IV. I therefore move my first resolution, that

A. The colonies have not been represented.

2. — Questions for Debate

Resolved: —

1. That commercial reciprocity between Canada and the United States would be beneficial to both countries.

2. That admission to college should be by examination only.

3. That co-education in institutions of higher learning is desirable.

4. That in the United States the jury system should be abolished.

5. That members of state legislatures should be forbidden by law to accept free passes, on any railroad in their respective states, during their term of office.

6. That the "honor system" of conducting examinations should be adopted in our high schools.

7. That the state should limit the working day to eight hours.

8. That United States senators should be elected by direct vote of the people

9. That the high protective tariff policy of the United States is detrimental to the general welfare.

10. That the army canteen should be restored.

11. That football as now played in American colleges is demoralizing.

12. That in the United States the arbitration of labor disputes should be made compulsory.

13. That the United States navy should be materially increased at once.

14. That the Chinese Exclusion Act should be repealed.

15. That, during the last twenty years, labor-unions have been beneficial to the workingman of the United States.

16. That every male citizen in the United States should be compelled to serve at least two years in the militia, between the sixteenth and thirtieth years of his age.

17. That high license is preferable to prohibition, as a means of regulating the liquor traffic.

18. That the present tendency toward specialization is detrimental to the individual student.

19. That the postal savings banks should be established in the United States.

20. That the treatment of the American Indians by the whites has been justifiable.

21. That trade schools should be established by the several states.

22. That a prescribed course in public speaking should be given in all high schools.

23. That students having an average of 90 per cent in any course, for the term's work, should be excused from taking examination in such course.

24. That every pupil before being graduated from high school should have mastered the elements of some practical trade or occupation.

3. — Some General Reference Books

1. Poole's Index.
2. *Review of Reviews* Indexes.
3. Bliss's Encyclopedia of Social Reform.
4. Volumes of "Public Opinion."
5. Reports of the United States Industrial Commission.
6. Congressional Record and Senate Documents.
7. Bryce's "American Commonwealth."
8. Reports of United States Commissioner of Education.
9. United States Census Reports.
10. Files of the various standard magazines.
11. The Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature.

When the question to be discussed belongs distinctly in some branch, — political science, economics, sociology, etc., — the most rapid progress will be made by immediate reference to the well-known publications devoted to the subject under consideration.

In the discussion of *current* subjects, it will be necessary for the teacher to direct the pupils in their choice of newspapers and magazines to be used in preparation.

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